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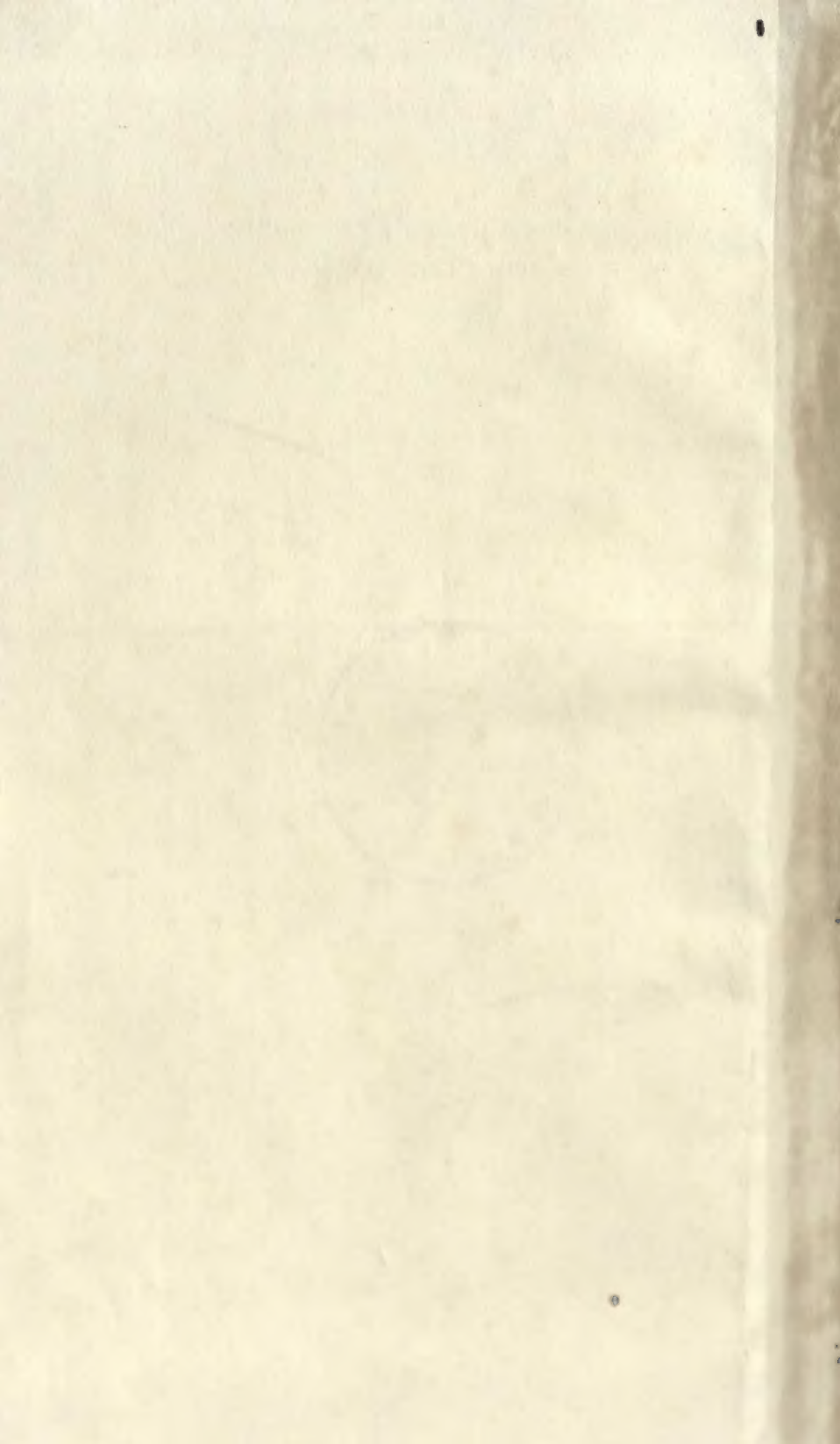
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PLANNING FOR THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Planning for the needs of children in developing countries

REPORT OF
A ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

1-7 April 1964, Bellagio, Italy

Edited by HERMAN D. STEIN



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INTRODUCTION

The following introduction was prepared by Mr. Pate shortly before his death. The subject was of close concern to him. Throughout his eighteen years as Executive Director of UNICEF he was always seeking long-lasting benefits for children, and ways in which children could be helped to grow up to contribute more fully to society.

In recent years Mr. Pate became convinced that such objectives for the protection and development of the child required appropriate provision within national development planning. Mr. Pate conceived of the round-table conference at Bellagio as a first attempt to explore the policy and technical problems of this approach and he was pleased with the outcome. Before his death, he could see the growing acceptance of the rather new angle of approach to the role of children in development that was expressed at Bellagio. This approach owes a great deal to his inspiration and leadership.

THIS REPORT SUMMARISES the work of an international round-table conference, the first ever of its kind, held in Bellagio, Italy in April 1964. The results of this meeting have put us in a better position to focus attention on the place of the younger generation within the framework of national development plans. It has become increasingly clear in the United Nations Development Decade that there is no definite line separating economic development and social development, because national development truly includes both. The place of children in development plans, likewise, has both economic and social aspects, a point made abundantly clear by this conference.

One of my strongest impressions from the conference is that specialists in the "economic" fields can see eye-to-eye with those in the "social" fields. One may detect in the report that the individual participants did not feel bound to represent their respective disciplines. All participants joined in presenting matters of common concern, in which all had a stake and to which all could contribute. In this respect, as well as in others, the conference gave promise of increased communication and co-operation

in the future when such discussions continue at the regional and country levels.

We have, of course, drawn on the studies of development planning which have been carried on by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat and by the specialised agencies and on their experience in helping countries implement plans. Indeed, this conference, along with our other activities, would not have been possible without the excellent co-operation of these bodies.

We are, of course, mindful of the fact that each country will chart its own course with respect to the place of children in its development plans. Our task is not to duplicate the work of others, nor to set directives. It is rather to illuminate, and focus attention on, the area of our major concern—the well-being of children. This conference has enabled all concerned to undertake the future task with greater understanding of the relation that problems concerning children and youth have to over-all national planning.

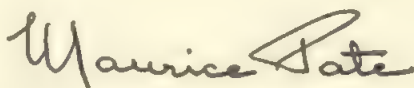
Two regional conferences will be held in 1965: one in Asia, under the auspices of UNICEF, ECAFE (the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) and the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, will be held in September; the other in Latin America, under the auspices of UNICEF, ECLA (the Economic Commission for Latin America) and the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, will be held in December. We anticipate that these conferences will work out more specific guidelines on the basis of the special conditions which confront the countries in these regions. Plans are also under way to incorporate into the training of planners greater consideration both of the needs of children and of ways to help them grow into adults who can make the greatest possible contribution to the progress of their country.

In the Bellagio Conference we have been concerned with a wide range of needs of children in the developing countries—with their health, nutrition, education, vocational training and social welfare. Together with its sister agencies in the United Nations family, UNICEF helps countries analyse priority needs and plan projects which can make most effective use of the aid which they can provide. UNICEF has shipped tens of thousands of items to support country projects—equipment, drugs and vaccines for disease campaigns; medical equipment for child health centres and for hospitals; kits for midwives and nurses; supplies for community development projects; powdered skim milk; equipment for dairies; and tools, seeds and fertilizers for increasing family food production; trucks, jeeps and bicycles to transport staff; and text books and audio-visual materials for training. In co-operation with the specialised agencies and the Bureau of Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, it has assisted in a host of programmes designed to aid the developing countries in their

efforts to cope with the problems besetting the growing generation. Training of national staff has become an increasingly important aspect of these programmes.

These activities will be continued. However, the results of this conference will enable us, as well as other sources of external aid, to provide help in a way which will be more effective.

UNICEF expresses its warm thanks to the ministers of planning, economists and eminent authorities in various fields of children's needs, including representatives of the United Nations family of agencies, who came from all parts of the world to this conference. Thus we have been able to share their wisdom and experience in the pursuit of better plans for the well-being and sound development of the rising generation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Maurice Pate". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letter "M" being particularly large and stylized.

MAURICE PATE

Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund

15 January 1965

PART I

CONFERENCE SCOPE
AND
OBJECTIVES

Participants and Observers

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PROFESSOR V. K. R. V. RAO, *Member, Indian Planning Commission, New Delhi, India*

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On. Ludovico Montini, the representative of Italy on the Executive Board of UNICEF, addressed the round-table conference on 4 April and welcomed them on behalf of his Government.

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MR. EDWARD IWASZKIEWICZ, *Assistant Director (Planning)*

PROFESSOR HERMAN D. STEIN, *UNICEF Consultant, Rapporteur for the Conference; Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work*

MR. MAMOUDOU TOURÉ, *Consultant to the Executive Director*

MR. G. V. SUBBA-RAO, *Senior Planning Officer (Asia), New Delhi, India*

Agenda

Opening statement by Mr. Maurice Pate

Appointment of the Chairman

Statement by the Chairman, Professor V. K. R. V. Rao

Organisation of the work of the conference

Statement by Professor Robert Debré

Issues in relating children's needs to planning for national development—

Statement by Mr. E. J. R. Heyward

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF SEVEN COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

India, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Venezuela, Poland, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

SECTORAL AND CROSS-SECTORAL PLANNING: IDENTIFICATION OF AREAS RELATED TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN

The objectives and scope of a policy for children

Planning for children in the context of social and economic development programmes

Problems of target-setting in planning for the needs of children

Some neglected aspects of the role of children and youth in developing countries

SELECTED CROSS-SECTORAL PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The social consequences of urbanisation to children

The uneducated child in developing countries

Demographic considerations in planning for children—the case of education

Planning for food and nutrition in relation to children's needs

THE ORGANISATION OF PLANNING IN RELATION TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN

The needs of children in relation to planning structures and processes

Observations on the process and the organisation of planning for the needs of children

DISCUSSION OF CONCLUSIONS

Planning policy for meeting the needs of children

Implications for sectoral and cross-sectoral planning

Planning organisation and implementation

Research, training, and implications for international aid

ADOPTION OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Questions for Discussion about the Content, Method and Organisation of Planning for Children and Youth

Prepared by the Secretariat of UNICEF

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of This Note

The purpose of the present note is to try to identify the questions that need answering to permit progress in taking account of children and youth in development planning, and to arrange them tentatively in a logical order. We have had the benefit of discussion with member organisations of the United Nations family concerned either with planning, or with the special needs and potentialities of children and youth, and also with many individuals. We, however, have put the list of questions together, and must take responsibility for its weaknesses.

The Starting Point

The extent to which the younger generation will benefit from the current great development effort will depend strongly on the degree to which meeting the needs of children and youth can be integrated into the general objectives of development. On the other hand, the realisation of objectives of development will depend greatly within fifteen years on the present younger generation, and it is logical to approach systematically their preparation for the tasks implied in the plan.

National policy for children and youth will start from both these considerations. It will not be based only on the traditional humanitarian approach, but also on considerations related to economic policies. As children grow up, they become the country's labour force, the human factor of economic growth. In the context of the current stage of development of many developing countries, and in view of the shortage of their capital resources, the human factor has special importance in the promotion of their economic growth.

One basic problem is to break with the traditional belief that a national policy for children should be confined to dealing with the underprivileged and handicapped. A national programme should cover all children; it should comprise measures aimed at decreasing child mortality

and raising the standard of child health, increasing future productive vitality of children and lengthening their life. Such plans should also have regard to the development of the personality of children so that they grow into creative human beings and become good citizens with an active social conscience, and efficient and skilled members of the future society. The ultimate goal is that this should be done for all children irrespective of their social class, their place of residence and economic resources.

Of course, a proper place for the welfare and development of children and youth in national planning is not the same as a proper place in national development, but only one of the means to it. Countries may have a serious national policy about children and youth without using comprehensive planning of development. Nevertheless, at the present time, clarification of the place of children and youth in national planning appears to be one of the ways to help all countries develop their policy for this age group.

The economically under-developed countries generally are trying to plan their development. Hence arises the question of the appropriate place of children and youth in national planning. At this level, we are not seeking an answer in terms of specific programmes. Rather we are seeking a method of approach that countries can use in their own planning processes to apply to their own particular circumstances.

We have to recognise that doubt has been expressed in some quarters about whether the methods of planning, which generally mean the methods of economic planning, are useful for dealing with the problems of children and youth. Further, the methods of planning have been well established along sectoral lines,¹ and since we are not suggesting a separate sector for "children and youth," there is some doubt whether they constitute a useful unit for analysis, and whether an age group, as opposed to a function, is an "operational tool." Others think—or perhaps thought—that all resources should be concentrated on increasing the national product, and that this would be the best possible and a sufficient contribution to alleviate all social problems.

Let us, therefore, try to define the problem more clearly. We may be inclined to say that the welfare and development of children and youth are a part of larger "social" sectors. The important truth in this is that we turn naturally to these sectors for information about the present situation of children and youth and how it is evolving for methods of analysis, for recommendations and generally for handling many of the problems of children and youth. Other aspects of the problem require an examination of the economic sectors of the plan; for example, the implications of the plan regarding the preparation of children and youth for their future employment opportunities, the possibilities of economic measures to effect specific improvements in the situation of children and

youth, the possibilities of harmful repercussions of economic development measures on the situation of children and youth. There are also other issues concerning children and youth—e.g., ethical, political and cultural—that are not usually considered either “economic” or “social.”

Hence, many countries are striving for a development plan, rather than an economic development plan and a social development plan. Many consider, however, that they have at the present time a predominantly economic development plan with some social appendices not sufficiently integrated into it. The problems of children and youth tend to fall into this latter category. Therefore, we are seeking an integrated development approach and looking for methods of handling children and youth in that framework. In other words, when a country is planning its development, how should it deal with its children and youth?

CONTENT OF “PLANNING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH”

No plan that is put into practice can be purely economic. Countries are in fact intervening in various organised ways in the development of their societies. We may take as a common case a five-year plan, plus perspective planning for a generation ahead. Usually the country begins by planning to increase its capital equipment, to improve its technical processes, and to develop its markets, during these periods. During the longer period of time particularly, new human beings will be maturing to operate these processes, and perspective planning looks to a time when a whole new generation will have “taken over.” This consideration shows the importance of the evolution of children and youth in the development process. Innovation and entrepreneurial capacity, which have been widely stressed as being essential ingredients of economic development, depend heavily on the kind of upbringing and education which children and youth have, for the children and youth of today are the innovators and entrepreneurs of tomorrow. They represent the material which the forces of change in the society may best hope to mould in new ways, children (pre-adolescents) being passive agents in this process, and youth often tending to rebel against society and having to be guided by persuasion and pressure. They are at the age most receptive to new ideas. The new generation matures with habits of thought different from its parents, and from a new vantage point carries further the processes of development. Thus one view of an “integrated” development approach is that it concerns the evolution of a society over a period of time, and takes account of the evolution of the people as well as of physical equipment (which is the product of people) and technical knowledge (which is embodied in people). For obvious reasons, the maturing of the oncoming

generation is a most important part of what has been called here "the evolution of the people."

In the preceding paragraph the human factor is considered implicitly only as a factor of production. However, the real objective of development is reached only when the quality and conditions of life of the people improve. A consensus is spreading that this cannot be reached simply by increasing the national product. The education of the mother, of the consumer, of the in-migrant to urban areas, of the young people whom countries wish to retain in their rural areas, are examples of subjects with which the maturing of children and youth has much to do.

Classification of Goals

Every society is preoccupied with bringing up its children. It may be useful for purposes of illustration to try to classify in appropriate categories some of the goals which societies, trying to accelerate their own development, put forward for the development of their younger generation. Some of these goals do not belong exclusively in one category but they have been listed in what appears to be the category of predominant interest:

SYSTEM OF VALUES AND ETHICS. This may include religion, philosophy of life, ideology, ethics, and "character development." Some elements are closely related to motivation for development, both positive and negative. Others have an important bearing on the efficiency of development, for example, development of a spirit of co-operation and mutual help, commercial and administrative honesty. Another objective may be to avoid the destruction of "good" values by the process of industrialisation. The responsibility for training the younger generation is usually shared among the family, the religious institution, the party, and the state.

POLITICS. It is often an important goal of development to promote the growth from district or sectional loyalties, while retaining their positive values, to a sense of national unity, sometimes with further perspectives of co-operation in a community of several states. Another concerns the development of popular participation, which may grow from local government and community development to larger concerns. A third political objective may be a climate of security for national and external investment funds.

CULTURE. Literacy is one of the most widely desired fruits of development, unfortunately often regarded as a means of escaping from manual to white collar work. The diffusion of the cultural tradition through the population generally, and reacquaintance with national cul-

ture, made more possible by modern means of communication, is a valuable contribution to a "higher level of living." With this may go ideals of adaptation to change, and combination of the best of old and new traditions, and the strengthening of aesthetic considerations in the physical transformation of urban and rural areas. Sports may be promoted as a contribution to both physical and character development.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Goals relating to adaptation of the social structure towards increased social mobility, the fostering of a spirit of innovation and initiative, the avoidance of "normlessness" ("anomie") of young people, suggest that an important place be given to personality formation and the training of the child. In fostering popular support for the sacrifices of the development phase, and popular participation in development, the incentive of benefits for children can play an important part.

FAMILY FACTORS. Demography furnishes important data which the planner has to take as given for the shorter period. Objectives of influencing the demographic trend over a longer period should bring concern with such matters as family attitudes to the child, the status of women and mothers, the possibilities of caring adequately for individual children, and higher parental aspirations for children.

ECONOMICS. The analysis of investment in human resources, so far more studied in the industrially advanced than in the developing countries, is an example of the relation of economic goals to children and youth.

WELFARE. This heading is intended in a broad sense: (a) For a growing national product to yield greater "welfare" or satisfaction of needs, it is necessary to educate the consumer who is entering the monetary economy. Much of this education will be directed to mothers and children in school. (b) Development goals in what are commonly called "social" sectors—health and physical fitness, education, vocational training, housing, social welfare services, etc.—will have specific reference to children and youth because they are in need of special services and special protection. (c) Because planning for children is sometimes interpreted to mean planning of social welfare services for children, it is perhaps well to point out that this is only one among many aspects of planning affecting children and youth.

It may be objected that this list includes elements not usually the concern of government planning, for example, religion. But a general approach has to take account of the existence of value areas cultivated outside the apparatus of the state. Usually, however, there are interactions between these values and the processes of development. They should not be ignored by the planners, and usually some co-operation is sought with

the guardians of these values. In any particular case, the goals set will be related to the evolution of the country.

The above listing² is of examples. It is not comprehensive. One of the important substantive tasks is to establish much more carefully what should be the content of national planning for children and youth. This is referred to again below under "Methods, setting of goals and targets."

NEED FOR A THEORY OF NATIONAL PLANNING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

One of the greatest difficulties that planners say they are facing at the present time is the absence of a conceptual approach, a common theoretical framework, a suitable integrated theory of development in which social or other non-economic variables can be used in analytical models or systems. Many of the planners are convinced that it is insufficient to deal only with economic variables, but they feel that the theory and practice of economic planning have advanced so far in the last decade that many of the social sciences have difficulty in bringing their contribution to the planner in usable form. In recent years a number of social scientists, including economists and sociologists, have been trying to devise systems to which both economists and social scientists can bring their contributions. The theoretical framework for handling problems of children and youth should presumably be part of this larger sociological framework.³

The preceding paragraph may have reflected too much the views of the economists, because they are the predominant professional group among the planners. It may be necessary to pose some additional questions. Are we assuming incorrectly that the methods of economic planning can, with a little work, be readily applied to social planning? Or does social planning need a different methodology, in which case there would be a theory of economic development, and a theory of social development, rather than a theory of development? The two would have to come together, but at a later stage, for example, in the allocation of national resources.

It is clear that some countries consider that they need an "integrated" approach to development in order to be able to deal more effectively with social aspects, including matters concerning children and youth. Other countries not only do not make this condition, but prefer to develop national policy for children and youth more distinctly from economic policy, if only because of the scarcity of personnel to do the co-ordination. For the present, therefore, approaches are needed to help both types. From a longer-term point of view, it would obviously be useful to know which approach is to be recommended.

METHODS OF NATIONAL PLANNING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Even in the absence of a satisfactory theory, planning proceeds, well or ill, in this field, and it is useful to give attention to methods. Supposing that a country wishes to develop its children and youth in respect of categories such as those listed above (page 14), how is this to be brought within the planning process?

(a) Government activity is carried out directly through ministries and indirectly through influence on non-governmental institutions. The ministries do not have to carry out their tasks entirely by themselves. They may involve the "private sector," give directions or encouragement to local governments, and stimulate non-governmental bodies, all of whom in turn influence the activities and objectives of the ministries. Governmental action, therefore, requires appropriate planning across sectors.

(b) Correspondingly, it appears that every planned action has to be brought within a functional sector or sectors.

(c) A particular objective may be accomplished by action within one sector, or it may require complementary action in several sectors.

Thus, in the above listing of development goals with a particular bearing on children and youth, values and ethics, national unity, and culture have an important bearing on educational policy but will not be the exclusive concern of the Ministry of Education. They may be much affected by the Ministry of the Interior; and by community development, which often is not in a separate sector, but consists of simultaneous action in several sectors. Human investment requires action in a number of sectors: health services, education, manpower, planning and professional training, housing, social welfare services and all activities bearing on the feeding of the population. Welfare requires action in these same sectors but with a different emphasis.

The following is a suggested order for considering methods of planning in this field. The successive points are set down in an approximate chronological order in which a country might tackle them. However, there is reciprocal influence among these points, for example, goals have to be fitted into sectors, but the examination of sectors will also suggest goals.

Assessment of the Situation of Children and Youth at the Starting Point

In a strict sense, very little is known about this in most countries, and certainly statistics and qualitative data are lacking. However, enough is usually known to allow a start to be made on practical work while

more adequate information is being obtained. This essential task does not appear to pose serious theoretical problems.

Setting of Goals for the Development of Children and Youth

While ultimate goals may constitute "the good life" in the philosophical sense, planners should have a conception of the direction in which they hope the society will be moving, and the central values to be embodied in the society. Time-limited planning objectives should be related to these values. Within perspective planning periods it would be important to prepare children and youth for the kind of social and economic environment that is foreseen for their adult years, without creating unrealistic expectations that would lead to frustration. Needless to say, the values sought would not necessarily be those of the present highly industrialised societies.

Too little attention seems to have been given to this subject, perhaps because many of the important goals appear too vague to introduce into the planning process. There will certainly be inter-relationships among these goals, and the next step might be to try a classification for operational purposes, to indicate which are relatively antecedent or independent of social change, which are intervening and which are dependent variables. Only then could targets and priorities be discussed—the stage at which the economist has already arrived some time ago. It seems that this is a field in which theoretical studies could be helpful, as well as discussion in each country concerned.

Fitting Goals into Appropriate Sectors

This very difficult task may be approached in six sub-sections, the first three relating to separate sectors, the second three to cross-sectoral problems. The first is the examination of sectors known to be important for the development of children and youth, in order to see that appropriate measures are being planned. These sectors include health, education, labour (employment policy and vocational training), social welfare services, housing. This is probably the most important single step towards giving a proper place to children and youth in national planning. (Obviously space accorded to a topic in the present notes depends on the need to clarify problems, and does not in any way reflect its practical importance in planning.)

A second stage is the consideration of the rational use of resources within each sector, where services for children and youth have to be developed. This criterion means economy, not in the static sense of minimum costs now, but in the dynamic sense of how to produce desired developments most economically over a period of time. There is much

work still to be done in this field. Even in a long established, highly professional sector like health, much more could be done to clarify the best paths of development for services in the new countries. In examining such questions in co-operation between the planning authorities and the professional and administrative authorities concerned, it is possible in principle also to work out a rational use of resources concerning children's problems within that sector, reaching children directly or through family units. The other side of this coin is the avoidance of waste. For example, the many children who do not complete at least four years of primary school usually do not achieve minimum literacy.⁴

The third step, which is very important in practice, is the examination of non-social sectors for any large negative repercussions on social problems, and for present purposes, especially on children and youth. An industrialisation programme is an obvious example. Account has then to be taken of these repercussions and unless the plan can be changed, suitable palliative measures have to be planned.

A fourth task is to examine cross-sectoral problems of children and youth. Since planning proceeds predominantly by considering sectors, it is more difficult to deal with cross-sectoral problems. Unfortunately, many of the problems arising in the development of children and youth seem to have strong cross-sectoral elements, that is, they require co-ordinated action in several branches of government. For example, education is considered as a sector. Nevertheless, it is clear from the preceding discussion of goals that there are many aspects of educational policy which go far beyond academic teaching and even the preparation of children for prospective employment (relation between the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Labour). The problem of the uneducated child (who has missed schooling) is also cross-sectoral. Nutrition, which is one of the dominant physical problems of children in many of the developing countries, concerns the health department for setting of nutritional standards, survey of conditions and health education, but it concerns the agricultural department for the over-all planning of food supply, the local production of food for family consumption, and agricultural and home economics extension. It may concern many other departments, e.g., education, community development. Children and youth in the rapidly growing pre-urban areas in developing countries offer another example of a cross-sectoral problem.

The fifth step relates to cross-sectoral problems of the country concerned. Most developing countries are facing a number of key problems and in planning to meet these, as in the case of non-social sectors considered separately, the possible involvement of children and youth should not be neglected. Examples of such problems, mostly involving attitudes which would be established during youth are:

(a) Land reform and retention of the rural population to prevent urban growth in advance of employment opportunities. In these questions both formal education and particularly attitudes of the young people are important.

(b) Inflation and low export prices. Concerning inflation, attitudes in regard to saving are of obvious importance. This is part of a larger question, whether people's thinking is "future oriented" or "present oriented," whether they plan ahead and think in terms of postponing immediate gratification for future benefits. Export prices have in some countries a repercussion on expenditure in the social sectors.

(c) Urban real estate speculation, which is absorbing so much of the indigenous capital of developing countries, versus entrepreneurship in industry. Here also attitudes of the young generation will be important.

(d) Unemployment and under-employment—one of the main problems of youth in many developing countries.

The sixth step concerns relations among sectors. The life cycle is an important aspect of planning for children and youth who as they grow, tend to pass from one sector to another. In infancy and early childhood, they are mainly served by the health department. They then pass to being predominantly in the care of the education department, and later pass on to ministries of labour or agriculture which may help in their vocational training. Other sectors may be concerned at several stages of the cycle, e.g., social welfare services. The development of the various sectors successively entered by an age group is often unbalanced. Typically, there are gaps in the process, particularly for pre-school children and school-leavers, so that the process of human investment at these stages is not even or continuous. From this point of view also there is a concept of a rational use of resources in a systematic plan of development for a given generation—or even for a given life cycle (see page 21).

In addition to the relationship among sectors implied by the growth of the child over a period of time, there is also the simultaneous relationship in that different services complement each other. For example, it is not economic to push expenditure on schools beyond a certain point if the pupils are hungry or ill. This synergistic aspect of the development of various social services has been pointed out in the World Social Survey,⁵ and an attempt to apply this to planning is made by Jolly,⁶ who advocates the gradual expansion of the circle of those served by a minimum level of services.

It is clear that inadequate attention in relations among sectors may lead to dispersion of action, bottle-necks, and uneven development among sectors.

The consideration of relations among sectors seems to require that after sectoral plans have been established tentatively, there is a second "horizontal" examination in which all activities being undertaken for children and youth in whatever sector are looked at as a whole. This may lead to some changes in sectoral plans. Logically this horizontal examination could be held to imply looking at the plan in terms of age groups, for instance, as a minimum, children and youth, economically-producing age groups, and the aged or retired. Sometimes this idea is advanced to be criticised, and thus to show that it is impossible or unnecessary to make a systematic plan for children and youth. However, it does not appear necessary to give the same attention to all age groups. There seems a clear reason for looking at the group of children and youth in the first place, because they account for 40 per cent of the population in developing countries, and they are being prepared for a key role in the society. Regarding methods, something may be learned from other "second looks" at the plan from a non-sectoral point of view, for example, the effect of the plan on a particular region of the country or on the rural areas *versus* the cities.

Through these steps, the planner hopes to arrive at a rational use of resources among sectors. As with the subject of rational use within a sector, discussed above, this has to be considered dynamically, that is, what are likely to be the best paths of development (a) within each sector, and (b) considering the mutual relations of sectors. Comparative studies in this field, illustrating progress from various typical starting points would be useful to planners.

Adaptation of Methods to Different Circumstances

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL PLANNING. Presumably it is easiest to consider planning for children and youth in relation to a well developed system of national planning, and then to consider adaptations for countries that are at an earlier stage of development of national planning. As a minimum, three stages may be considered—preplanning, programming, and planning. "Preplanning" means that there is as yet no planning structure to co-ordinate regular ministry activities.

At the stage of programming, there are national programmes in certain fields, but not a comprehensive plan. In the absence of planning, there is still an obligation on all those endeavouring to improve the condition of children and youth, especially if they are bringing external aid, to try to assist activities on a reasonable, realistic project basis—activities which could conceivably fit into a development plan, were one to be set up. Behind this somewhat tenuous concept is the idea that a knowledge of planning methods for children and youth can be of use to people who only have the possibility of developing specific projects. It is worth while



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giving attention to the problems of the many developing countries where planning is not yet fully in practice. At that stage it is particularly important to make provision for the testing of strategies.

DEGREE AND NATURE OF CENTRAL PLANNING. There are also of course important differences in the degree of central planning aimed at by each country—the degree to which development is autonomous or induced by government action, the relative importance of the public and private sectors, and the degree to which the plan is indicative or is enforced. Adaptation of the philosophy and methods of national planning for children and youth to these differences would also be necessary at the appropriate time. However, nearly all the developing countries are trying to “induce” development. Further, in regard to children and youth, the state and voluntary bodies traditionally do try to contribute to their development and welfare; nowhere is this left purely to autonomous family effort. Hence in this field differences of philosophy may be less wide than in some others. Again the procedure suggested at this stage is to try to elaborate general guidelines—presumably for the indicative plan with large public and private sectors. Refinement for different circumstances will be a later stage.

STARTING POINTS OF DEVELOPMENT. The general situation of the country, the income level, the availability of trained personnel, the rate of economic growth; programmes like rural electrification, chosen by countries as spurs to more generalised growth; the particular problems and needs of children and youth at the point from which further development is planned; all will naturally have a large influence on the paths of further development to be selected. Studies of typical situations would be very useful.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN TAKING ACCOUNT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN PLANNING

LACK OF QUANTITATIVE DATA. This is an almost universal difficulty, particularly with respect to pre-school, non-schooled, and post-school populations. Generally better statistics are gathered as better services are developed.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF CONSUMPTION AND INVESTMENT EXPENDITURES. There has been discussion about whether expenditure for certain social services, education, for example, should be classed as consumption or investment. It seems clear that many social services have aspects both of consumption and investment, in different proportions in

different cases. Human solidarity will require expenditures on many services, though limited by the resources available. To pursue the example of education, it will not be limited to investment in human resources. On the other hand, the investment aspect will justify expenditures in some branches going beyond what could be justified purely for consumption. Hence both aspects should be taken into account.

A practical difficulty arises when at an early stage in the preparation of the national plan it is decided that X per cent of the national resources are to be invested. The procedure appears to make it necessary to estimate how much of expenditure on each proposed service is to be counted as investment, and how much consumption.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AVAILABLE FOR CHILDREN'S SERVICES. In the industrially advanced countries, there has been a historical evolution from special services for children to provision for the special needs of children within more general services for the family, corresponding to the growth of the conviction that the child should be dealt with as part of the family. This path may not be followed by the developing countries, which can afford fewer specialised services for children and youth than the highly industrialised countries. Usually one of the main difficulties in extending any service, particularly in rural areas, is to find some existing services reaching into the village that can carry also some benefit to children and youth. Hence the growth of community development in its many forms, the growth of fundamental education attached to schools, the use of agricultural extension services to teach about home economics, the use of polyvalent health centres to give maternal and child health services, etc. For the planner, such means represent an essential economy of money and personnel, but on the other hand, they make it difficult to have a clear cost accounting of services undertaken for children and youth.

SETTING OF PRIORITIES. The prerequisites for reaching this stage have been referred to on page 18: the survey or assessment of the situation, the choice and classification of targets, the need for quantitative and cost data, the choice of appropriate paths of development within each sector, taking account of cross-sectoral relations.

A difficulty may arise from the conflict between the desire to extend services as widely as possible ("democratisation") within the resources available, and the need to maintain minimum standards so as not to spread the services so thinly as to become ineffective. There is an opposite tendency, whose interaction with the first, however, rarely produces the desirable middle course. This is the tendency to transfer standards from the industrially advanced countries, because they are considered the "highest," rather than modifying them to take account of the needs and

possibilities of the developing country at a particular stage of its evolution.

EVALUATION. Systematic observation of the plan's progress and results while it is current is a necessary prerequisite to revision of the plan. Such revision may be needed because resources are not available for full implementation, or because the plan is producing unforeseen consequences which are harmful. Evaluation should take account of the interrelationship of sectors, which may alter the obvious solution of cutting back expenditures on the less successful services. A particular difficulty suffered by services considered as "social," which includes many of those for children and youth, is that they are usually among the first to have their resources reallocated elsewhere.

PLANNING MACHINERY

The question has been asked whether there should be a special sector for children and youth. General opinion appears to be against this,⁷ since planning is strongly developed along functional or sectoral lines. The many specific problems of children and youth that cross sectoral lines reinforce this view.

There is however need for some co-ordinating committee or machinery. There seem to be at least five elements to be considered:

- (a) Securing the interest of parliament, or equivalent governmental body.
- (b) Method of handling at the level of the planning commission.
- (c) Co-ordination among government departments.
- (d) Securing the co-operation of non-governmental or voluntary organisations, which are particularly active in the field of children and youth.
- (e) Securing citizen interest and involvement in the preparation and execution of the plan. The possibilities of serving children and improving their situation is sometimes a means of securing citizen interest in wider aspects of the plan.

EXECUTION OF THE PLAN

Non-execution of plans is the basis for one of the most widespread criticisms of planning. Countries usually try to build popular support and political support for the execution of the plan, by participation of various groups in its preparation (as just mentioned), and by periodic progress reports and announcement of interim targets during its execution. Among the interest groups there needs to be a "voice" speaking for children and youth, and ready to respond when needed. Countries locate this in differ-



Mr. Alvin Karpis, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund, 1946-1965



Members of conference and staff in Bellagio, Italy, 1-7 April 1964



School gardens (Chile)

Food . . . Planning of foods to be produced, and improved methods of production and distribution are necessary for adequate nutrition of the child population.

Co-operative dairy (India)



*Increased
egg production
(India)*



*Fish farming
(India)*





NUTRITION EDUCATION

*Important in
overcoming
diet deficiencies*

*Housewives
in Sierra Leone
learn basic elements
of nutrition.*



SIERRA LEONE
achieves 1

HEALTH . . . Prevention
should get a high priority.

*In Burma,
sensitivity test
for leprosy*



*In the United Arab Republic,
examination for trachoma*





Well-baby clinic in Hong Kong

Simple transport for rural services in India





POOR SANITATION
AND MALNUTRITION
increase child mortality.



ent places—parliament, the executive, voluntary associations—and shape it according to the political structure of the country. While children have no vote, their parents have. Countries encourage such special interest groups, knowing that they will fight for their objectives and enter into a dialogue with the government, rather than simply repeat and spread planners' views.

The need to have political support for the execution of these aspects of the plan may require rapid, visible results of achievement. This consideration must influence the preparation of the plan, and particularly the degree to which longer range development objectives will be emphasised. The latent interest in benefits for children and youth is often found to be greater than was expected, and it may bring an extra dividend of greater popular interest in the plan as a whole. Another function of an interest group for children and youth is to help mobilise resources outside the plan for various non-governmental services.

A specific difficulty of planning for children and youth may arise where governments may, in dealing with the problems of the young, wish to teach them directly, even if this means bypassing traditional family controls. While the physical and educational welfare of the children may be ends in view, such approaches may also constitute means to prepare the young more rapidly to be identified with the state and with national interests. Political, welfare and development considerations may be intermixed in an approach which says, in effect, that the older, traditional generation cannot be relied upon to teach the young their civic obligations effectively, and family controls should be weakened, if not abandoned.

Cultural factors are obviously related to the political in such issues. Where the society is organised on the basis of extended kinship systems with strong patriarchal authority, the state may have much less access to the child directly than in societies where the kinship group is less mutually bound and organised. In such situations decisions to bypass the family may represent a coercive threat that risks strong popular resentment.

More characteristic in such societies may be the temptation for governments not to deal with the needs of children and youth, other than through their educational system and health resources, relying on the extended kinship system to meet whatever needs there are, even to the point of having family authority decide what educational or health resources will be used at all.

IMMEDIATE STEPS IN PRESENT SITUATION

These notes have assumed that the necessary clarification of intellectual problems will proceed by considering a rather ideal approach to

planning, the realisation of which lies far in the future for many countries. Meanwhile a start can be made and early steps might include for example: general assessment of the situation of children and youth, agreement on broad targets and a national policy for children and youth; improvement of services in important sectors; more regard for the interrelation of sectors; and more co-ordination of compartmentalised services. The ways in which bilateral and international aid can help in this process also merit discussion.

REFERENCES

1. "Sector" is used to mean a functional sector corresponding to an operational ministry of government, e.g., agriculture, health, education.
2. The listing is obviously derived from those who have worked on the social aspects of economic development, the United Nations working groups on this subject in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and from individual papers, for example, "Consideraciones sociológicas sobre el desarrollo económico de America Latina," José Medina Echavarría, a document of the Economic Commission for Latin America, E/CN.12/646.
3. See, for example, Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2nd edition, New York: W. W. Norton, 1963; and Everett E. Hagen, *On a Theory of Social Change*, Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1962.
4. F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
5. "Report on the World Social Situation," New York: United Nations, 1961. Page 96.
6. R. Jolly, "A Preliminary Note on Criteria of Investment in the Social Services in Less Developed Countries," UN Document E/CN.14/SDP/11, 1963.
7. Cf. *The United Nations Development Decade*, United Nations, New York, 1962, page 27: "Many of the younger generation's needs are inseparable from those of the rest of the community, and do not require the establishment of special organisational machinery, provided that the need for the co-ordinated development of the whole range of services for children and young people is understood."

Opening Statement by Mr. Maurice Pate

I have the honour to open this meeting which I believe could well be one of the most valuable ever sponsored by UNICEF because of the calibre and great experience of the persons attending, as well as the importance of its subject matter.

When UNICEF was started some seventeen years ago, it was an emergency action to help children in war-ravaged countries, mainly Europe, with supplementary food and some raw materials for clothing. Then UNICEF began to help BCG-vaccination campaigns against tuberculosis and programmes to increase and conserve the local production of safe milk.

While this work was going on UNICEF was making studies in Asia and Latin America which revealed the great needs of children in these regions—needs which had existed for many generations. This was the beginning of an evolutionary process which has over the years considerably broadened the scope of UNICEF aid. Currently, in co-operation with our sister agencies in the United Nations, we are helping over 110 developing countries and territories in the fields of health, nutrition, family and child welfare, education and pre-vocational training, within the limits of our resources, at present about \$35 million a year.

The scope of the problems to be discussed at this meeting is wide, and the work to be done to meet these needs is, of course, much greater than the resources of UNICEF alone can encourage. We have come to see more clearly with time that one of the more important things that UNICEF can do, in view of its modest resources, is to bring to the attention of all possible sources of support the problems that exist in connexion with the rising generation. There is not only the element of humanity and chivalry in taking care of children who constitute the next generation, but also the fact that such care should be seen as a sound investment in bringing the child up towards as fully productive a life as possible.

I think you are all familiar with the fact that over the years of its existence UNICEF has endeavoured to do practical things. We have endeavoured to invest the funds entrusted to us in a wise way to bring as large a return as possible for the investments made. I would like to assure the group presently gathered here, and giving so generously of their time and experience to this discussion, that we of the staff of UNICEF have the intention of turning the deliberations and conclusions of this meeting into the most concrete and practical form of action possible.

I wish to thank very warmly each person who has come to this meeting. I wish also to thank the governments which have enabled some of you to participate and prepare papers for this meeting, and to thank our colleagues from the United Nations and the specialised agencies for the contribution that they will make to this work. We are also very grateful to the Rockefeller Foundation, which has put these meeting facilities at our disposal.

The matter of the leadership of this meeting was given very careful thought by the small group that initially started this idea a number of months ago. It was believed that, in principle, it would be desirable to have a person of stature and experience from one of the larger developing countries. I therefore tentatively proposed the leadership of this meeting to a man of great distinction, several months ago when I was visiting in the field. And since my arrival at Bellagio I have had the opportunity to consult individually with each member participating in this meeting, and I have received the unanimous and enthusiastic approval of all of those present to propose to you, Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, that you be the Chairman of this meeting.

Most of you know Professor Rao's past distinguished service; basically he has been an economist and engaged in activities dealing with economics throughout his life. He had his education at the University of Bombay and at Cambridge. He was Professor of Economics and Head of the Department of Economics in the University of New Delhi. He has served, on many occasions, as the delegate of his government to various United Nations and other international bodies. At an earlier time he served as Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University for three years and was the Director of the Institute of Economic Growth. At the present time, Professor Rao is a member of the Indian Planning Commission, with the broad responsibility of handling all matters relating to manpower and human resources in national planning. This includes such fields as health, education, social welfare and employment. Along with this responsibility Professor Rao is also in charge of the segment of national planning which relates to international trade. Certainly it would not be possible to find someone more fully prepared to assume the responsibility which, on behalf of all those present I now take pleasure, Professor Rao, in turning over to you.

Opening Address by Professor V. K. R. V. Rao

CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

I must begin by expressing my very great appreciation of the honour that you have done me by asking me to take the chair for these meetings on planning for the needs of children in developing countries.

I must tell you that I feel quite humble, and rather diffident; I am not accustomed to being diffident, but when I look around the distinguished group of persons assembled here—all of whom have infinitely greater experience of the problems we are going to deal with than myself—and when I also look at the magnitude of the problems we have been asked to handle during this course of meetings, quite honestly I feel both diffident, humble and inadequate. All that I can do would be to try to see that all of us make our best possible contribution to the discussion we are going to have, so that out of this exchange of experience, views and discussion, there will emerge a consensus, which will mark what I hope will be an evolutionary landmark both in national and international action with regard to the planning for needs of children all over the world; not only in the developing countries, I hope, but also in the developed countries. I don't believe children have reached the millennium in the developed countries; programmes for children should, therefore, not be confined only to the developing countries. I hope that from our discussions will emerge policies and programmes which will be considered relevant by governments all over the world, and by social workers—using “social workers” in the broadest sense of the term; and that international action will result from our discussions.

We heard from Mr. Pate a very brief account of the background of this meeting, and what UNICEF has been doing in a pioneering way in child and youth welfare programmes. I should, if I may be permitted to do so, pay my humble tribute to Mr. Maurice Pate, who has been connected with this organisation and these programmes from the very inception; and also to his band of colleagues, all of whom have I think in a very, one might almost say unique, manner been functioning in more than a professional capacity; in more than the capacity of an international or national organisation, and much more than as civil servants. It is a group of persons who, while using an international organisation and all that goes with it, have been filled with a continuing spirit of idealism and dedication. I speak of continuing idealism, because all internationalism

begins with idealism, but sometimes as time goes on idealism becomes dimmer and other factors play a more important part. But as far as UNICEF is concerned, I think it started idealistically, continued thus, and will continue, no doubt in my mind, idealistically in a much bigger way.

If I understand the purpose of this meeting aright, it is not proposed to have detailed discussion of individual country programmes. We have had a number of papers circulated to participants, and also we are going to have introductions to countries' experiences in the course of our discussions. But these papers, as introductions to countries' experiences, as indicated by distinguished spokesmen, are intended as background rather than as material for detailed discussion of specific programmes. Here again, you have had a number of very important papers circulated, relating to health, nutrition, education, population; and we will have statements presented by the authors of these papers at our meetings. But here again, if I understand the purpose of this meeting aright, this is intended to give us background and the sum total of actual working experience in children and youth programmes, and experience of the operation of sectoral programmes in this field of child and youth welfare. I don't think we shall discuss in detail or make specific analyses of either country or sectoral programmes on which papers have been presented. That does not mean we shall have nothing to say on these programmes. The major objective of our meetings is, I understand, to raise the wider and broader question of what is the proper place of children and youth in national planning or national policy. I say national planning or national policy because every country does not have a planning commission; every country is not committed to an over-all development of its resources. But all of us are doing something, whether we have planned economies or mixed economies not planned in the technical sense. And I think in this meeting the idea is to take up all these together and ask ourselves the very broad question: "What is the place of children and youth in this programme of economic and social development? Have they a place? If so, what is it? And what should we do in order that the place to which we believe they are entitled is actually made available for them?" In other words, what would be the kind of organisational, financial and other aspects, both national and international, of implementing, bringing to fruition, realising in actual fact the place that children and youth should enjoy in the structure of economic and social development of the world at large.

To the best of my knowledge most countries do not have a specific ministry for looking after the problems of children and youth. In quite a number of countries they don't even have specific departments or government organisations for looking after the problems of children and youth. In the case of countries which are developing, like my country,

and have some kind of planned economy, children and youth do, of course, figure in programmes and plans for economic and social development; but they don't have a specific place. They are, so to speak, in the background, and occasionally they appear. And when they do, as described in one of the documents, they constitute social appendices rather than an integral part of the plan for economic and social development. Not appendices that need to be removed, but ones that exist, sometimes recognised, but regarded as not having any functional place in the human anatomy. That is the sense in which appendix is used. Such is the case in a lot of developing countries, as far as children are concerned.

Now, in these meetings, I think we are breaking away from that way of looking at things. I believe, as a result of the discussions we shall have, we are bound to come to the conclusion that in any policy or programme or plan for economic and social development children and youth have a place by right; a functional place, not an appendix. Just as the human body has hands, feet, eyes, a tongue, nose, ears, all of which have functions to perform, children and youth have a functional place in the anatomy of the social and economic structures of the world. I think we have all, no doubt in my mind, come to that conclusion; but that is not enough. I think we have to, if I may use an American word, which I must confess I don't much like, but which has come into common use, I think we should not be satisfied convincing ourselves of this basic rightful place of children in policies and programmes of economic and social development; we should also, as a result of this round-table meeting, be in a position to "sell" this idea—that children and youth have a place by right and a function in economic and social development—to governments, international agencies, opinion-formers (such as intellectuals, although not all opinion-formers are necessarily intellectuals). I think after having done that we should not stop merely at enunciating the principle and finding arguments to support it; we should also be in a position to recommend some action programme, formulate some ideas and some policies that would take the world forward in the direction of the principle we will enunciate, of the rightful place of children and youth in any programme and policy of economic and social development. I think it is right that we should do so, not in order not to be condemned as academicians (I don't care about that, though I am an academician) but because it would be unfair to UNICEF, for as Mr. Pate said, UNICEF has always believed in action, and not bothered too much about statements of principle and so on, but taken up action programmes. And from action programmes it is now turning to theory and principle, which I think in many ways is a more fruitful way of doing things in the social field. It is a very useful way, to do something first and, arising from that real experience, get to see a larger canvas, broader framework and some kind of theory which

will explain what has been done and show what is still to be done. I say this because I think we should not be content with merely theoretical discussion, but go on to some conclusions which will carry forward our ideas on the justification of the place of children in the society.

Now, to turn back to this question of what is the place of children in long-term planning—the functional utility of children and youth programmes—in the anatomy of the economic and social structure of all nations, not only the developing ones but those classified as developed. I think the first thing required to be done is to have a clear statement of the place of children and youth in social and economic development, and a policy statement which could be made by each individual country. A policy statement made only by international organisations is not sufficient; it is important, it stimulates, it is a catalyst; but we need statements by individual countries. What does it mean to talk about the “place of children and youth?” What are the objectives of a children and youth policy? What I would like to lay stress on here, though they are familiar arguments, is that the world is proceeding today, including the so-called spiritual, eastern world, more and more in the direction of asking for sound material reasons for doing anything involving a lot of expenditure of substance. And I think that is why Mr. Pate said we should think not only of programmes in humanitarian terms and in terms of consumption, but, as soon as we talk of big investment of resources, big expenditure of resources, also of programmes in economic terms. I think the statement of policy we should recommend and prepare on the place of children and youth in economic and social development ought to contain a statement on what should be the materialist basis for these programmes, in addition to the sentimental, emotional and other normally accepted reasons.

I think the obvious reasoning behind what we are going to say is that it has now been openly proved that human resources are important for determining levels of social and economic development. I think the planners, if not the planners then those who “prod” them, are convinced that human resources must play a very important role in social and economic development. If human resources constitute a very important basis for development, it follows logically that children must figure very largely in such programmes. For children are the raw material from which we make the finished human product. Human resources form the basis of economic and social development. This is the principle which one should enunciate: social and economic development means human resources. One could talk at great length on this matter if one were rash enough. But I would just mention a few points about the kind of treatment required to turn out a proper product in the shape of human resources. Forgive me if, as an economist, I start with economic considerations.

First, I think I would include the whole programme of health. If children's health is neglected, the young men and women who suffered as children will not be able to contribute their full quota to production tasks. In the modern world, the economic system demands of those who take part in it as human beings a certain capacity for comprehension and communication, an understanding of interrelations, an ability to see the logic of things, the consistencies and inconsistencies. That requires education, not only in the usual sense of the term, but also in terms of science and logic. I use these as separate expressions because as a non-scientist I am anxious to assure a place for logicians who are not necessarily recognised scientists. But a certain measure of logic, a certain understanding of science, is essential in modern organisations, modern life uses technology, instruments, modern activity is not just a question of crafts, coming down from father to son, where there is no need to question the logic. Therefore, education now must make a place for a knowledge of these elements of modern life. Then, of course, comes the whole question of skills—technological, scientific, etc. Modern economic activity requires skills of all sorts, and these cannot be created in adulthood. Some of them could, but the foundations have to be laid before the age of sixteen or seventeen. Therefore, as you know, a great new subject has grown up, with big names behind it, all of which emphasises the importance of health and education as productive input, leading to a better output of material goods and services.

The second set of considerations, which is extremely important, is to create a sense of security in the child and in young people; because people who grow up with a sense of insecurity—whether emotional, family, national or class—carry into their adult behaviour attitudes which do not make for the best utilisation of their capacities in social and economic development. This is, of course, not merely a question of education. It cannot be created just by schools; a number of other things are involved. I don't think we have gone into all the factors which create this sense of security.

The third set of considerations concerns the social aspect; how do you make social human beings out of children? How do you develop their social qualities? In my country, we have certain ideas. We want to build up a socialist pattern of society; we attach more importance to the co-operative approach than the individualist one. We will have, in other words, a large number of people handling property which is not theirs, producing things which are not for themselves as individuals. Society has always displayed, throughout history, a different attitude towards things which belong to one's own self and things which do not. Take the question of a mother's attitude towards her own child, which is a typical example. That is all right when the society is based on individual posses-

sion. But when one wants to build up a new type of society, we require different attitudes towards work, towards play, in business dealings, etc. In my country, there are a number of controls when there are shortages and scarcities; and there is also corruption. And everyone talks of the need for honesty. You can't impose honesty at thirty or forty-five years old, unless you have previously injected the antibiotic of honesty into the system. For example, taking vitamin C, one is able to resist a cold better. In modern society we are going to need much more of this honesty of mentality, and it is high time such principles were inculcated in children. How do we do it? Schools, broadcasts, radio, books? What are the devices? It is a whole subject on which there has not been enough thinking, especially in countries where there is a multi-party system. I think this is a very important problem and one we have to bring up.

Then comes the question of democracy. We have seen democracy, as we understand it, toppling in many parts of the world. But you can't preserve just by talking; this sense of democracy must be built into the psychology of the individual. There must be inculcated respect for the individual, patience and tolerance towards others, a willingness to listen to others even if one may entirely disagree with what they say. I remember saying once that in a university one should be free to express even reactionary ideas, provided there is discussion; the essence of the matter is freedom, discussion and logic. Then the question of respect for majority decisions—that is very important, because no democracy can work if there is not respect for majority decisions. This must be worked into the education you give to human beings, to maintain and sustain the democratic way of life. All that should form part of the input. The idea is somewhat difficult to put a finger on; you can't get hold of it, like food or vaccines; but I think my meaning is understood.

Finally, something the developed countries are worried about, and developing countries are beginning to worry about. How do you produce leaders? There are leaders and there are followers, just as some men are tall and some are short. But it is a fact that talent for leadership is limited and has got to be developed and built up. I think this is why at one time in the United States there was a survey in search of talent. Now all countries are looking into the question.

Everybody knows about these questions; all countries are concerned. But there is not enough organisation behind it all, nor have we made it part of economic and social development. Then also, as far as the developing countries are concerned, it is a little more difficult to sell this idea. I know that, as a member of the Planning Commission. If any national emergency comes, the cuts always fall on health, education and social welfare, not on power, machinery, etc. This is because there is no fundamental understanding of their importance. In selling this idea to develop-

ing countries, I would like to point out the effect it will have on industrial discipline, social discipline, harder work, and more willingness to pay taxes. There is also a great deal of waste of skills in all countries, because you have people who have skills but don't have to practise them to make a living. How do we make use of skills? The best way is to get them organised by voluntary agencies and organisations; and children's programmes are a good way of stimulating this type of voluntary work. This also applies to developing countries, in regard to voluntary work and making people a little more willing to put up with inconveniences.

The United States started with UNRRA. There was no question of politics or cold war at that time. UNRRA died, and all sorts of considerations began to enter in. But what I think is important is that everyone tells me, in the United States and everywhere, that as the world is growing more prosperous there is no increasing desire to use and expand foreign aid. It is more difficult today to get people to understand the logic and usefulness of foreign aid than it was before. I would therefore suggest that if the place of a child in economic and social development occupies a much more important place than hitherto, then it should be easier to unloose the purse-strings. There is nothing which moves people as much as the child. Idealism moves people, and nationalism, and so on, but these are only on a short-term basis. Whereas I think children move everyone, continuously. Therefore, from the point of view of both developed and developing countries, I think placing children and youth in the forefront should be helpful.

To conclude, I think it is not enough in this meeting to consider children's programmes in relation to national planning. I take it we are also concerned with wider aspects of children's programmes than just the national aspects of their development. I don't want to mention a series of suggestions I have in mind; I will do that later. But one thing I would like to say definitely at this stage: in my opinion the fundamental basis, the corner-stone of any policy, national or international programme for child and youth welfare, has to be laid on the foundations for the creation of a sense of world unity and world consciousness. I am very much worried by this because I feel that unless we create this sense of world consciousness, world brotherhood, we can never create a world society; and if we don't create a world society, I don't think we are going to have our society functioning normally in 50, 60 or 100 years. I think everyone who is sensitive, whatever his colour or language or wherever he lives, is convinced of the importance of a world society; but not many people bother themselves about what should be done for creating such a world society. It must have behind it sentiment, emotion, feeling; otherwise there can be no world society. Nations exist not because of cheques and plans, but because of a sense of consciousness and identity; but this

can only be created in childhood, and not at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Such foundations must be laid between three and twelve years of age. May I suggest that you consider a prominent place for this in the recommendations we will make; that the basis and fabric of all these programmes must be this consciousness of world society and world brotherhood. It is for this reason that I think our programmes cannot be confined only to developing countries. In the case of international aid programmes, the logic is that somebody who is richer makes available capital and technical know-how to somebody who is poorer; I suggest with great humility that should not be the sole logic of international programmes for children and youth. The real logic should be the need for building up world consciousness in all children, including the developing and the developed countries. If I may say so, all countries are under-developed in relation to this realisation. As soon as prejudices are let loose, do not people react immediately as national individuals or on the basis of other separatist considerations? But, while you must have the sort of programmes UNICEF has been doing and while these should be strengthened, I think the basic thing to be woven into all international programmes should be values. I hope we will find some time in the course of our discussions, if you think this is a good idea, to formulate something concrete as to what we think we may do to stimulate such an idea.

It may be worth while, in view of the great importance for national and international purposes of having a "new look" at the child, and a new faith, to think of organising a world conference on the place of the child in economic and social development. A group of persons might work out the preliminaries for something of that kind. The United Nations should take the lead. I think it would be marvellous if we could have a world conference on the place of children and youth in economic and social development, having as a basis (a) national programmes for making children much better finished products for social and economic development in their countries, and (b) making children all over the world better finished products for world development as a contribution to world peace and brotherhood.

Opening Statement by Professor Robert Debré

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S CENTRE, PARIS, FRANCE

The honour you do me by asking me to speak now is due equally to the fact that I am the "dean" of the members of the Executive Board of UNICEF and to the fact that I am Chairman of the Board of the International Children's Centre. I shall begin this introduction to your work by recalling UNICEF's work and end by speaking of the International Children's Centre.

In its seventeen-year life, UNICEF has gone through three successive stages. Its first and immediate task was to provide the unfortunate child victims of the Second World War with clothing and blankets—at that time newborn children in Rumania were being wrapped in old newspapers—and with food, milk and medicines. Children everywhere were suffering from cold, hunger and disease and the civilised world was hastening to dress the frightful wounds resulting from the terrible war into which it had been dragged by the madness of a few men.

But action breeds action, shock causes movement. In its second stage, UNICEF, now a continuing organ of the United Nations, assisted the most extensive mass campaigns ever known against communicable diseases and malnutrition which were decimating children. Its assistance was directed towards the under-privileged countries of the world, and was linked with that of such United Nations organs as WHO and later FAO, and with the work of the governments of these countries. The task was immense. The magic products, recently discovered by medicine, which pushed back disease and death had to be taken to the ends of the earth. Every possible means had to be used to abate children's hunger and, with UNESCO's help, to teach them.

Now we are entering the third stage. Every country in the world wants a better life. The rhythm of history is quickening, archaic frames are broken, peoples grow closer together, and science and technology are upsetting traditional structures. Everywhere there is a growing hope of changing the condition of mankind. The need for knowledge is more widely felt and will be a dominating element in the preparation for the future. Indeed, if there is to be progress, solid foundations must be laid by study and reflection. Scaffolding is needed before building can begin.

The voice of UNICEF should be heard in this hubbub of voices.

UNICEF's task is to show what part the child—defended by UNICEF throughout the world—must take in the nation. If UNICEF's voice is to be heeded, it must follow the call of its Executive Director, Maurice Pate, who has told us that "helping children is not charity, but rather an investment." And he added that "there is nothing chivalrous in this behaviour on the part of UNICEF." Of course, nobody will believe that Maurice Pate could act otherwise than in a chivalrous spirit. But everyone also knows that in its new forms charity is at once wisdom, foresight and sensible and exact calculation.

Thoughtful preparation of collective action results in development plans, and development plans have rendered, and still render, great service to good administration. They were first drawn up in favoured countries like France, but they are even more important for the countries of the "Third World" (*Tiers Monde*). (I trust we may be forgiven for borrowing this term from Alfred Sauvy; for those who remember their history, it recalls the fact that the French Revolution was followed by the rise, political and social, of the Third Estate.)

In the Third World, fertility is at its natural level, hygiene is inadequate, morbidity and mortality high, national independence recent, industrial development very slow, agriculture obsolete, climate often hard and the land unprofitable. We ask that the children should be heard amid these cries of discontent. For we know two equally important things: first, children in the countries of the Third World have unsatisfied needs, and, secondly, these countries need their children. Children must therefore be borne in mind when development plans are being drawn up.

To tell the truth, this need was not immediately apparent. Economists, sociologists and politicians obviously tend to believe that the first stage in planning consists in laying down the material foundations—roads and bridges, workshops and dams, harbours and factories—to produce riches which will serve later to benefit mankind. That was the aim of the first plans in France, and that is why today we lack houses, schools, hospitals and laboratories, and why we are now trying, not without some difficulty, to recover the ground we have lost. I therefore believe that it was a mistake for my country to forget, even for a moment, the opinion of that great minister, Cardinal Richelieu, when he said: "We must build with men;" and to ignore the wise advice of the ancient Greeks: "A city is not a wall and empty vessels, but men." (Thucydides)

To forget the lessons of the past is more serious for the countries of the Third World than for countries in full growth which enjoy riches of every kind and a fabulous inheritance of natural and intellectual wealth. In the Third World, youth is not yet sufficiently prepared to maintain the dams that are being built, to use irrigation, to operate the factories, to develop manufacturing and, above all, to develop agriculture

to produce enough food. The health and strength of the rising generation are not sufficiently protected. Without young men able to use and develop them, great public works and modern machinery are not an investment but a waste of money and energy.

Let us recall our aphorism: "The child is a modern problem." While writing *Emile* in the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau said: "My subject is quite new after Locke's book, and I fear it may be so after my book; we do not know children." And in the nineteenth century, Victor Hugo declared emphatically: "I invented the child." Nowadays, nobody questions a kind of primacy for childhood and youth. Liberation of youth has to go along with the liberation of women, so important in every respect. The state's activity must supplement the protective role of the family. Not only the parents, but also the whole society, are duty-bound to welcome children into the nation. Society's imperative task is to provide what is needed for children's nutrition and health, and their training for the many and specialised professions the modern world requires. Governments' indifference to the grief of parents suffering from the misery and death of their children can no longer be borne, not only because it is cruel and unjust, but because governments thereby make the mistake of neglecting their people's real interests. Now, if the survival and flowering of youth are to be assured, youth must be known, and here is our second aphorism: "The child must not be considered as a miniature adult." We must therefore learn how the children of mankind develop. This knowledge is recent and still not very widespread, even neglected.

The scientific discoveries, which have advanced medicine more in the last few years than in the previous thousand years, have enabled us to penetrate deeply into knowledge of the formation and physical and psychic growth of man. This progress in understanding the human being has shown first of all how deep-seated is the unity between body and mind. This basic idea now dominates our attitude towards man, and especially towards the child. Next, we have learned to distinguish between what is derived from heredity and our genetic inheritance on the one hand, and from the influence of our environment on the other. We can change this environment, and it is on the young that it has most influence, at every stage of their development. We also know how to distinguish between these stages.

Everything begins long before birth and is completed by the end of the period of growth. Care should be taken for the future being before birth: at the very moment of his creation through the fusion of equal parts of chromosomes from the father and the mother; then during the period of incredibly quick vicissitudes when the little embryonic mass is being formed; next during the growth of the foetus in the mother's

womb; and then at the moment of arrival in the world—the “drama of birth.” After that comes the dangerous time of the first hours, the first days, the first months, and then the whole fragile life of infancy, with its rapid acquisitions and dangers threatening, especially at the difficult time of weaning. Later there are the early, middle and late years of childhood, leading to the upheavals of puberty, and finally the difficulties of finding psychological and social balance in adolescence. Everything changes at every moment during these twenty years, in accordance with the rhythm peculiar to our species.

Any harmful phenomenon, any pathogenic event which causes even fleeting, even ephemeral disturbance to the new being will have lasting consequences, often out of proportion to their cause, and sometimes absolutely irreparable and final. Neither the body nor the soul forgets anything. There can be unforeseen damage and after-effects continuing through a whole lifetime.

A mere variation or a delay in the rhythm of development has serious effects. Is it not a well-known fact that delayed physical growth cannot be remedied once the bones of the skeleton have been finally welded? There is reason to believe that affective deficiencies suffered by an infant deprived of his mother will continue to influence his personality right up to adulthood. The very serious effects of prolonged malnutrition change a child for a long time and perhaps forever. Many times I have shown African doctors the traces in grown children of nutritional injuries suffered at the time of weaning. It may well be that some of the violence and cruelty of adult crowds are the distant consequence of food deficiencies and psychic shocks experienced in youth. The adult is balanced only if he enjoyed a healthy and happy childhood. The child's essential corporeal and mental needs must have been satisfied, and he must even have profited from certain immeasurable elements which make existence palatable and living a pleasure, and allow the flowering of the faculties. Society's duty is to allow everyone to reach the ceiling of his capabilities, physical and psychic. When this duty is not fulfilled, the adult is unsatisfied and remains so to the end of his days.

The social body—just like the individual—has its needs. There is no need to stress the point that social and professional training of youth is required if a country's economy is to work well and its citizens are to be united. But there are other factors, less often considered, which must be brought into the light of day. Youth is the important factor in progress. In a healthy country it is the rising generation which puts an end to fatalism, to surrender, to acceptance of bondage to the oppressive forces of man and nature. But youth will have vitality and balance only if body and soul are in good shape. Otherwise, long periods of sadness, of weakness in body and personality, will be followed by sudden fits of excite-

ment and violent disorder. If the pressure of youth is to be vigorous, innovating, benevolent, and not destructive and unhealthy, youth's needs must be met. Apart from health, these needs include meeting youth's demands for freedom, equality and social acceptance. Youth's thirst for knowledge must also be quenched. Moreover, if each country is to share in the modern movement of civilisation, its most gifted children must be able to play a part in the development of theoretical and practical science.

But before this stage is reached, planners must not forget that in the Third World agricultural unemployment is a basic cause of inadequate food production. There can be no remedy for those twin scourges, unemployment on badly tilled land and lack of food for the people, unless development programmes take the health and education of children and youth into account.

Everyone also knows that the excessive birth rate in some regions can be checked only by the simultaneous operation of three factors: raising of standards of living, improvement of hygiene, and the spread of education. In many countries ill-endowed in these respects, the time has come for action.

Why? Because time lost in preparing a man for life in society cannot be made up. It takes a few years to build a factory or to irrigate arable land, but it takes twenty years to make an adult able to run the factory—except as a slave to the machine—or to make land yield valuable crops.

Public health, public education, personal and social training are necessities for the individual as well as for the nation. These basic elements must therefore be incorporated in governments' plans. And governments must understand that the stages leading from a very ancient civilisation to that of the modern world cannot be jumped over without risk; a rhythm of progress must consequently be decided upon. Care for its children must be the first concern of any country striving for a better lot and for freedom. Unless this problem is given priority the future will be compromised, and material modernisation will be all in vain.

The authors of national development plans have a hard task, that of judging, and a hazardous task, that of foreseeing. And at each step they must make a choice. Nobody is unaware of the difficulty of establishing orders of priority. But the purpose of our thesis is to remind the planning experts that in future they must not neglect man, and man is in the child.

Our purpose is also to emphasise the differences between cultures and the basic characteristics of each community, so that the temptation to copy will be avoided and an imaginative effort will be made. This imaginative effort is founded on knowledge of the people of each country. The means to be used in education, professional training, nutrition and health, vary with the population concerned. Variations in time are added to these variations in space; in our world it is man who changes and

changes quickly. It is therefore our duty to recall that plans should not neglect this perpetual and rapid development, but should prepare every child for the mobile world he is entering. He should be able to accept the suddenly discovered novelty and, if he is capable of it, he should be given the very high ambition of creating that novelty.

If, therefore, the experts in charge of plans agree to introduce this cumbersome factor—man—into their programmes, they owe it to themselves to know how his development progresses. In one word, they must understand childhood.

I come now to the last idea in these preliminary considerations. It can be stated in a concrete proposal. What is our task? It is to make known man's development, the child's needs, the minimum requirements to safeguard his life, his health, his activity, his worth and his vocational and social guidance. It is to show how children can be protected, youth helped, the rising generation guided, without despotism, in every country. It is to establish the order of priority of the child's basic needs by defining the standards common to the human race, and the variations in different populations. It seems essential that planners should be in possession of these general ideas. Then the very difficult decisions they will have to take in choosing between more urgent and less urgent projects, will be taken in full knowledge of the facts.

We therefore feel that it would be useful to have the problems of childhood and youth studied and discussed among qualified leaders and experts from different countries. An international exchange of doctrines, experiments and theories could only be fruitful. In fact, it seems to us essential.

The International Children's Centre, an autonomous institution, offers its services for the organisation of such meetings. The International Children's Centre has for a long time taught doctors, social workers, health officials, school teachers and administrators of every rank and from every country, what the child and the young man are, what are their problems of development and growth. It therefore feels that it is in a position to contribute in a new way to the world-wide work UNICEF is undertaking in the third stage of its life.

PART II

RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY
AND
CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS

RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY

Rapporteur's Note

The summary of presentations and discussion is based on transcripts as well as prepared papers. No attempt has been made to give a chronological account of the proceedings, but rather to group all content related to particular themes.

The second section, "Aspects of Planning," concerns the sectors dealing with the main needs of children and youth. The conference did not intend or presume to make an authoritative statement of policy in each of these social sectors, nor did it reach a balanced over-view of the relationships between these sectors and development planning. This section should not, therefore, be viewed as a comprehensive treatment of the subjects under consideration. The principal utility of the discussion in these fields was, first, in providing an opportunity for the planners and economists to get recent knowledge and ideas in the social fields, applied to the problems of countries with low budgetary resources. The discussions also gave an opportunity to specialists in the various social fields to present their experience and views in terms that were clear to the planners and economists, to be more cognisant of the main interests of planners and economists, and to get a view of related problems in fields other than their own. These discussions of necessity generalised broadly, and it was hoped they would be pursued more pointedly by the countries themselves involved in development planning.

INTRODUCTION: CONFERENCE THEMES

Purposes

As Mr. Pate indicated in his opening remarks, this meeting is considered by UNICEF to be one of the most important in its seventeen-year history. In its origins, UNICEF constituted an emergency action to help children in war-ravaged countries with supplementary food and with raw material for clothing. It gradually moved into non-food programmes and has, in more recent years, dealt with a wide variety of needs of children in the developing countries of the world. The growth and ramifications of UNICEF's work in the developing countries led to a decision of the

UNICEF Board to promote, wherever possible, the interests of children within the national development plans that are being prepared in developing countries, which include four-fifths of the world's total child population of somewhat over one billion.

The round-table conference convened in Bellagio represents a major step in this direction. It was designed to bring together planners, economists and experts concerned directly in their disciplines with the specific needs of children, in order to discuss together the place of children and youth in the planning of national development.

Professor Debré called attention to the central importance of children in national development. He reminded the group that childhood and youth were "discovered" as interests in their own right only in the past two centuries, and it is slowly that we have come to recognise the child not as a miniature adult, but as having a unique development requiring special study. For the "tiers monde" in particular, it is the coming generation that can spell the end to fatalism and to passive resignation in the face of the depredations of both human and natural forces. The care of the young, therefore, should assume a central place in schemes for development.

Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, upon accepting the chairmanship of the conference, enlarged on the major objective of the meeting, that is, to determine what the place of children and youth is in a programme of economic and social development. He noted his own conviction that children should not be regarded as an appendix or afterthought to development plans, but as having a functional and direct role in such plans. He endorsed Mr. Pate's reference both to the humanitarian nature of the investment in children and to its economic utility. Human resources, he emphasised, constitute an essential basis for development, and children and youth are in a sense the "raw-material" from which the quality of human resources is fashioned.

In addition to the basic needs for children of health, education and emotional security, Professor Rao laid emphasis on the social qualities of co-operation, honesty and democratic values, and also on such features as the development of the potential for leadership and innovation. He also stressed the importance of a sense of world community whose foundations are laid in the knowledge and attitudes of children, particularly between the ages of three and twelve. With respect to all of these qualities, and particularly the sense of world community, he felt that "all countries are under-developed." Conference participants joined Professor Rao, both in the initial stages of the meeting and towards its conclusion, in expressing the conviction that, to promote a world of peace, heightened international understanding should be simulated in all countries in the years of childhood and youth.

In his comments, referring to the secretariat paper on questions posed for the consideration of the conference, Mr. E. J. R. Heyward stressed that the present meeting should be seen against the background of a long period of United Nations consideration of the problems of development and development planning. He referred to the studies that have been prepared and the regional meetings held. It is in the light of this record of productive activity that one can raise additional questions about the place of the younger generation in development planning. One question concerns the emphasis within perspective national plans that may be given to government options about inculcating or strengthening fundamental attitudes and values, in such realms as national unity, religious and moral values, honesty and democratic behaviour. Another concerns the ways in which children, now living outside an industrial context, are to be properly prepared to advance industrial development and the transformation of agricultural systems fifteen years hence. In raising such issues, Mr. Heyward underlined the importance of seeing how the young could be prepared to contribute fully to national development, and warned against simply restricting development plans to meeting the needs of children and youth, vital as these might be.

Underlying Points of Agreement

Early in the conference and at points thereafter, certain premises emerged that undergirded the deliberations. The premises that reflected broad consensus were the following:

1. Development is a process with economic and social aspects, rather than a combination of two different forms of development, economic and social. The aim of development is to improve the well-being of people and the quality of human life.

2. Human resources are essential for development; they are at least as important as material resources in building economic and social progress. Children and youth represent the key to the development of such resources. One must therefore ask not only what the development plan can do for children, but also what is needed of the younger generation for the success of the plan itself.

3. Since it is much harder to undo all that goes wrong in the childhood years than to capitalise on sound preparation during these years, investment in preventing the major ills (resulting primarily from inadequacy in resources) that afflict children and youth is of high priority in planning.

4. The welfare of the child should be the explicit concern of the family, the community and the state on all governmental levels.

5. While raising the productivity and the income level of the population remains an over-all goal of development planning, the needs of children are not automatically met by such economic progress and continue to require deliberate and systematic attention.

6. A perspective plan, for example, a plan of fifteen years' duration, is a logical starting point for considering the relationship of children and youth to development. In developing countries, the orientation should, on this basis, take account of the economy of fifteen years hence, as far as possible, rather than exclusively the economy of today.

7. There need be no separate sector in governments solely concerned with planning for children. What is more important is co-ordination of effort and examination of plans to ensure that the interests of children and youth are safeguarded and that they are in a position to participate in the building of the society.

8. Those who plan the distribution of a nation's resources (as represented by the planners present) are ready to recommend allocation of such resources provided the merits for such outlays are presented with some convincing justification. It should not be assumed that planners will insist on elaborate studies of economic returns to investment in children and youth for purposes of justification, nor that they judge allocation of resources solely on economic criteria.

Issues Recurring during the Conference

Many of the problems concerning children cannot be solved within any one sector. This poses a considerable problem in bringing children and youth into the planning process. For example, planning for nutrition affects health, agriculture, education, community development and finance. All of these have to be examined at the same time and in relation to one another. The mechanisms often do not exist for this process.

The plan itself, as it affects children, should be related to the life cycle. But one should not treat these phases of the life cycle as if they were under the exclusive jurisdiction of a given ministry, for example, the health ministry being concerned with the very young child, education when the child grows older, vocational training when he is a youth. Planning with respect to all of these as they affect the maturation of the individual requires a broad, comprehensive, horizontal look across sectors. The problem is complicated, moreover, by the fact that it is often difficult to know what the nature of the investment should be in any one sector in order to yield a given result, let alone cross-sectorally.

Scientists in the various disciplines concerned with the growth and development of children and youth are generally agreed on the great

importance of the pre-school years for the entire subsequent development of the individual, in his physical and mental capacities, his personality and social outlook. Thus far development planning has apparently ignored this part of our scientific knowledge. Economic calculation tends, for example, to give priority to vocational training of youth, because this yields results so much sooner. It is tragically true that developing countries cannot develop to the full the capacities of all their pre-school children. A cruel selection process reduces the numbers to more manageable size by the time those children who survive their early years complete the educational prerequisites for vocational training. Many are not able to complete these educational prerequisites. Neglect of the pre-school child may be exacerbating the very lack of commitment to development goals on the part of youth that is widely complained of by the present generation of leaders.

The problems of children and youth are not related solely to the "social" sectors of development planning. The meeting was constantly trying to make more precise the relation of children and youth to the economic aspects of development, which has been explored much less thoroughly than the social relations. A perspective plan, for example, contains many tacit assumptions about what the present-day younger generation will do to implement that plan. The plan may assume that the job opportunities to be created will be found in industry and in urban areas. It is expected that youth and young parents who come from rural areas will fill these jobs. It is also expected that those who remain in rural areas will transform traditional agriculture in order to feed the growing urban areas. In many cases, these remain implicit assumptions and systematic preparation of the rising generation for these tasks is not elaborated.

Perspective Planning

One of the clearest examples of perspective planning and its relationship to the problems of children and youth was the case of Tanganyika, presented by its Minister of Planning, Mr. A. Z. N. Swai. This case illustration was referred to at numerous points in the deliberations. Tanganyika was, at the time of this conference, preparing its fifteen-year perspective plan for 1964 to 1980. Its major targets are:

1. To raise the *per capita* income to £ 45 per year, which represents a more than doubling of the current *per capita* income.
2. To develop self-sufficiency in trained manpower requirements.
3. To raise the average level of life expectancy from the present level of 35-40 years to 50 years.

The *per capita* income is to be raised by expanding agricultural and industrial output. The agricultural output would be expanded through the modernisation of agriculture by the use of scientific techniques in irrigation as well as the resettlement of trained farmers. The industrial sector now provides only 4 per cent of the gross national product, whereas the average for Africa as a whole for this sector is 10 per cent. For both agriculture and industry a change in the structure of the economy is required, and, in turn, this means more trained and skilled manpower.

Tanganyika has had to make some hard choices with respect to primary education. The Government has decided to maintain the *status quo* in primary education, that is, 50 per cent of the children will continue to be enrolled in the primary schools and no more. The accent would be placed on the expansion of secondary and higher education, which would receive higher priority. Such emphasis is required in order to make sure that public and private sectors of the economy are properly manned. A particularly important expansion is necessary in the output of teachers. The allocation for education represents 24 per cent of the total recurring expenditures and 15 per cent of the total investment resources of the central government budget.

In health, the priority in the plan will be placed on preventive aspects, on a balance between health facilities in urban and rural areas. Thus far, the rural areas have received a much smaller share of facilities than urban. Priority will therefore be given to rural areas, in order to remedy this imbalance.

Through community development and other approaches, an emphasis will also be placed on work among women. A special cadre of staff is being trained to work with women to enable them to progress in health, hygiene and nutrition.

As far as children as such are concerned, there is no specific sector in the planning commission devoted to them. However, 50 per cent of the population is under the age of nineteen, and therefore the entire development plan affects both children and youth and is based on them.

The importance of children in the developing economy was emphasised by the focus in the perspective plan on a transformation approach to scientific agriculture. This demands not only specific agricultural training in schools, starting from school gardens to more advanced training, but also for farm institutes, for farmers and their wives, and special training for those who will be brought to the new resettlement schemes.

ASPECTS OF PLANNING RELATED TO CHILDREN'S NEEDS

Food, Nutrition and Health

Note: The subjects of food and nutrition were more thoroughly considered than any other in the discussion on the major sectors affecting children and youth. Indeed, other problems affecting health were barely touched on. The time devoted to food and nutrition was related not only to their importance, but to the fact that discussion in this area tended to evoke the main issues noted in the first section, "Conference Themes," illustrating, for example, the physiological consequences of food deprivation for the pre-school child on his entire subsequent development.

Dr. Gopalan emphasised the problems of malnutrition and under-nutrition confronting children and infants in developing countries. Infant mortality in these countries is high, but the bulk of these deaths occur in the neo-natal period. The period between one and six months of age is relatively safe, because of breast-feeding. After breast-feeding ceases, or when supplementary foods become necessary, the problem of protein malnutrition becomes very severe indeed. While many children die, many others who survive carry with them into adulthood the lasting effects of protein malnutrition. This can result in permanent physical impairment, which affects not only economic productivity but also general prospects of fulfilling potentialities in life. Vitamin A deficiency is also of great significance, particularly in the countries of South-East Asia, and is a common cause of preventable blindness in children between one and five years of age.

It was Dr. Gopalan's contention that planners and administrators generally have not fully recognised the magnitude of the protein malnutrition problem in children. In part, this neglect may arise from the fact that health statistics often give a misleading picture of its prevalence; causes of mortality may not refer to malnutrition, but to infectious diseases, yet infectious diseases often follow in the wake of the weakness and vulnerability of the child who suffers from protein malnutrition. In addition, it is a problem which cannot, of course, be answered simply, or through the exercise of policies in any one ministry. Broadly, the problem of protein malnutrition stems from inadequate supplies of food necessary for the feeding of infants and children, and ineffective utilisation of such foods as are available.

Nutrition education is extremely important, in order to overcome faulty feeding habits and make it possible to use such protective foods as are or become available. Maternal and child health centres should, of course, become much more oriented to nutrition, but proper training in nutrition is needed for everyone concerned with health care. This means

the training of doctors themselves, and also orienting teachers and others outside the health professions. The use of nutrition experts should not be the sole means of meeting the need for broad nutrition education. Such a pervasive consciousness of the importance of nutrition for the population as a whole should be spread by all those professions and occupations in a position to influence the relevant attitudes and behaviour. The fact that this is a cross-sectoral problem suggests that the responsibility for a national nutrition policy should be placed as high as possible and hopefully with the central planning commission itself, where one exists.

Fao estimates that the annual increase in demand for food during the 1960's will be about 4.1 per cent, due both to population increase and to increase of demand based on the rise in national income. The average increase in food production in the developing countries, however, has been 2.9 per cent. Moreover, the demand for food in urban areas may increase two to three times as fast as in rural areas.

Two of the key problems are ensuring economic incentives to food producers, in order to enhance production, and improving domestic marketing systems for food products. Neither of these problems lends itself to easy solution, as Mr. Ojala pointed out in his opening remarks on this subject. To establish marketing systems across the country is very costly, and if producer co-operatives are to be used, it demands trained and experienced local leadership which is not always available. The problem is sufficiently difficult for food grains, but much more difficult for the protein foods in greatest demand for children. Definite policy measures would be needed to change the relative prices of different foods in order to favour an increase in consumption of foods of special nutritional value for children, and to decrease the consumption of those that are less valuable; for example, that might mean a subsidy for pulse and a tax on sugar.

Special measures may also be required to increase production of food nutritionally valuable for children and to reduce their relative prices; for example, subsidies for livestock feeds, or special credits for certain types of production. Supplementary feeding programmes for school children, or a system of special rations for pre-school children might also be necessary.

Some countries plan to establish national food reserves to ensure a regular flow of supplies during the plan period. For many developing countries consideration would have to be given to the prospect of obtaining food aid from external sources. In addition to bilateral sources such aid is available through the United Nations/FAO World Food Programme, which may provide a wider range of foods in the future, including some that are of special value for children. The extensive use of food aid, Mr. Ojala emphasised, must be accompanied by firm national agricultural

development policies, including the improved marketing of food products and special measures to protect the levels of food prices for domestic producers.

Dr. Autret observed that there can be no separate plan of food production for children, but the needs of children do exercise some influence, though far from sufficient, on the orientation of production. He outlined the way in which food targets can be expressed in nutritional and physical quantities, so that the needs of children can be taken into account.¹

This setting of targets is performed in four stages: (a) determination of existing food supply, (b) determination of food supply needed to meet nutritional requirements, (c) the setting of "practical" short-term nutritional targets, and (d) the setting of targets "obtainable" within a given time period.

The determination of the existing food supply is done from food balance sheets, which record all appropriate data. The determination of human requirements of nutrients and food stuffs is based on physiological needs for different age groups; these needs are known with sufficient scientific accuracy for practical planning purposes. Comparison of the ideal nutritional requirements with the existing supply gives the deficit in *per capita* intake as well as the deficit in net and gross food supplies. One cannot assume that the food supply is fairly distributed in relation to the needs of individuals and particularly children, nor that it is evenly distributed in terms of geography. Dr. Autret, therefore, recommended that the targets set in this fashion should be raised by 10 per cent to cover disparities in distribution, and in over-consumption by certain groups.

He also pointed out that, while ideal nutritional targets obviously are long-term, some short-term or intermediate targets must be set on the basis of all the reality factors, as well as the hopes of the nutritionist.

While efforts to meet children's needs can often be seen in the first two stages, it is in the latter two that their vital needs must be safeguarded. The production of protein food is expensive, but it is essential if the children are to receive a balanced diet, and Dr. Autret observed "production economics should not be used as a pretext for taking the easy way out, which would prove expensive later on in terms of sickness."

The notion of producing more of everything must be discarded. What is needed is to produce selectively and to meet not only market demands to the extent possible, but also demand that is guided by deliberate nutrition education of the public.

In this consideration it should be kept in mind that the child is most affected by scarcity of foods in the developing countries and his share is smallest in proportion to his needs. Often a child's share is simply not served out to him. The education of mothers in respect to nutrition is therefore of enormous consequence. Such education begins when the girl

is at school, and should continue through every avenue by which parents can be reached.

The establishment of systems of allowance and cash for food for needy families is usually designed as emergency stop-gap measures and therefore no place is made for them in the budget. They should, however, have a place in national plans, and as part of a total design to re-distribute national and international resources for the benefit of the least privileged. These programmes should, therefore, be given their own allocation in the budget.

Governments and planning commissions must be informed and helped to understand the importance of nutrition in the national economy and social development of the country. Moreover, nutritionists themselves should, in addition to their medical knowledge, be able to understand the economics of their disciplines, in order to be able to communicate with the planner and speak to him in his own language. Dr. Autret recommended that a nutritionist be attached to the planning commission to analyse nutritional data or organise their collection.

Dr. Autret summarised his comments by observing that:

1. The general planning of food production should be selectively oriented, so that shortages of food particularly necessary for children are overcome as a matter of first priority.
2. The food producer should be educated. In developing countries, where 80 to 85 per cent of the population live on the land, the producer must keep his family fed through an improved subsistence economy, so that resources acquired through industrial crops can be utilised for investments affecting other components of standards of living, such as industrialisation, education, health and housing.
3. The distribution of food resources should be improved through the education of mothers and through supplementary feeding programmes for mothers and children.
4. A nutrition specialist, trained in food planning, should be attached to the planning office staff.

In the course of the discussion on nutrition, Professor Studenikin commented on the importance in the developing countries of vitamin A and vitamin B deficiencies, as well as protein deficiencies, and also shortages in carbohydrates and fats. He agreed entirely with the point that high priority, possibly the highest priority, should be given to nutrition in national planning for children. The experience of more economically developed countries may be useful in this connexion, he observed, and referred to the serious shortages of food immediately after World War I in the USSR. Emergency school feeding programmes, milk distribution centres and similar devices were organised. After the problem of emer-

gency feeding of children was no longer considered a high priority, the milk centres for children continued as well as the programme for supplementary foods to be obtained on the recommendation of doctors.

Dr. Gopalan felt that vitamin A and B deficiencies were not as serious in developing countries as other nutritional difficulties, but they may show up when the more serious problems are removed. He would unhesitatingly give the priority in planning to nutrition over all other investments, including environmental sanitation, particularly for the infant and pre-school child. As far as protein malnutrition is concerned, the crucial period is one to five years. If there has been serious malnutrition in this period, it is virtually impossible for the child ever to make up for the deficiency.

Professor Debré and others emphasised the total importance of malnutrition in human development, including the long-range psychological as well as physiological effects. Professor Rao observed that family planning could not successfully be achieved until child mortality was substantially reduced. In India the problem is huge. While 9 to 10 million children are covered in a school milk programme, there are 50 million children. By 1970 it is estimated there will be 510 million people in India. It is essential that protein requirements through agriculture be met, for no nation can be permanently dependent on others for food.

Professor Rao pointed out that the need for enormous expansion in the production and consumption of proteins in India is greater than ever, and the available milk supply is simply not enough.

Mr. Swai observed that both the inadequacy of milk supplies and faulty nutritional habits are responsible for widespread shortages of protein in the diet of the entire Tanganyika population, particularly the young.

Mr. Ben Salah emphasised the significance of school canteens to bolster the nutrition of children. In Tunisia agricultural activities have been stimulated rapidly and production has become commercialised. Now Tunisia is considering the use of atomic energy for food production. One cannot assume that doctors understand the overriding importance of the nutrition in the country, and Mr. Ben Salah felt that seminars for paediatricians should be given on nutritional matters, and the importance of the subject be dramatised to the populace, perhaps by movies. In Tunisia, education in nutrition has taken place in relation to school feeding programmes. Dietary habits have been changed. Previously people living only 80 kilometres from the seashore ignored fish in their diet. Now it is no longer necessary to stimulate artificially the sale of oranges and fish, both previously avoided by some groups in the population.

Dr. Autret pointed out that in terms of economic production in agriculture the problem is relatively simple, because one can concentrate

on the production of carbohydrates. This is precisely one of the reasons that the nutritional problems in many countries are catastrophic. No more than two-thirds of calorie intake should be in the form of carbohydrates and 35 per cent should come from fats and proteins. There is a protein minimum below which one runs the risk of slow death. Probably, the protein needs of adults are covered in many countries, such needs being just of maintenance. This is, however, not true for children, whose protein needs are relatively higher in view of growth. It is for such reasons that he suggested, with Dr. Gopalan, that planners should have a nutritionist available as their advisor, in order to keep them in the picture as far as substitutions in agricultural production are concerned and to regularly collect nutritional documentation and analyse it.

He also suggested that meat production requires six times as much land as vegetable production, but the production cost of meat can easily be exaggerated. The milk yield, for example, can be much greater than the meat yield. As far as children are concerned, it is important that the child gets his fair share of the food and also has the time to eat it.

Mr. Singer referred to the availability of food aid from external sources. It is now estimated that by 1976 \$15 billion in surplus food stocks will be available annually from the developed countries. This may represent as much as \$50 to \$60 *per capita* available for each child in need in an under-developed country. This surplus food can be produced almost cost-free, and the industrialised countries are not able to eat the food, nor do they wish to cut protective tariffs, quotas, subsidies and other forms of support for their farmers. If the supply can be managed to cater to the needs of the food-hungry market, a considerable extent of need might be resolved, at least on a short-term or medium-term basis.

A strongly felt point of consensus was that protective foods, particularly protein-rich foods, should receive priority in the increase of food production projected by development plans, in order to safeguard the health of children.

One emphasis most notably placed on the subject of general planning for the health of children was by Dr. Gopalan, to the effect that there was too much emphasis on maternal and child health activities directed to obstetrical care, compared to the relatively little attention given to paediatric care. The curative activities of doctors take precedence over the preventive, a high rate of infant mortality continues, and the curative work mounts. In India, for example, the accent is still on the number of paediatric beds, not on the establishment of well-baby clinics. He strongly advocated preventive paediatrics as a high priority.

Mrs. Junqueira commented that in Brazil the paediatricians say that the death rate for children is going down, because of better care; but after the age of one, and especially of ages two and three, it increases,



EDUCATION . . . When schooling is available, the out-of-school child is a waste of precious human resources.

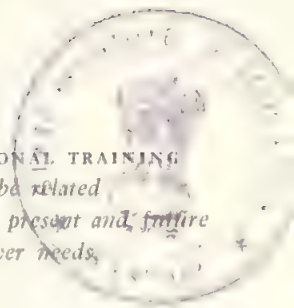


*The development
of school facilities
and the preparation
of teachers
urgent needs in the
developing countries*





VOCATIONAL TRAINING
should be related
both to present and future
manpower needs.



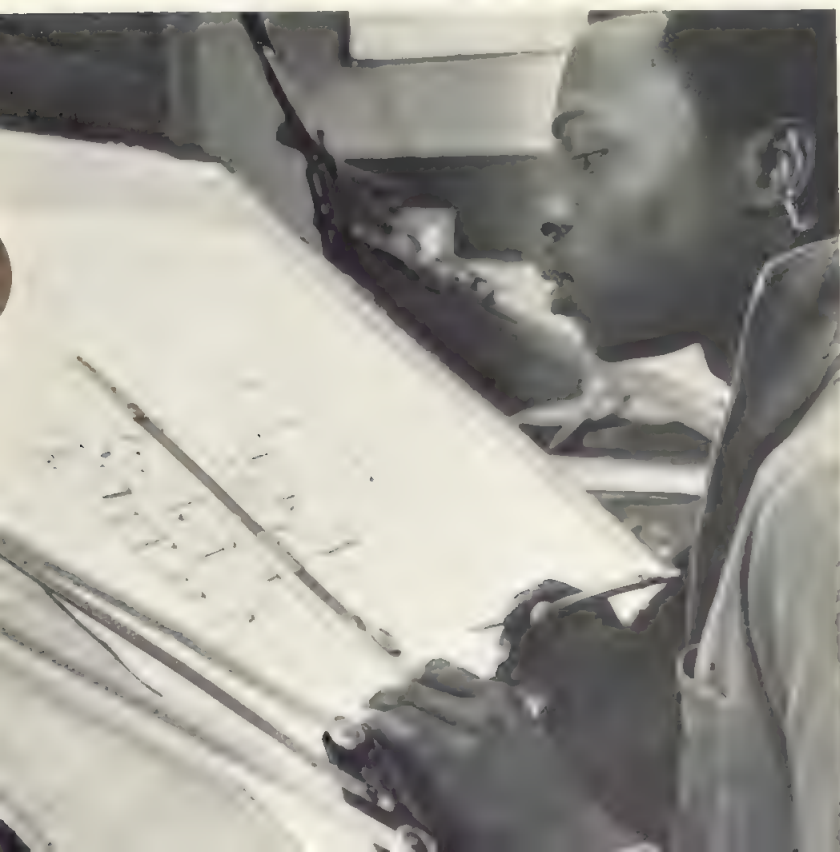
Carpentry class in Kenya

Mechanised farming in Indonesia





Advanced training in Malaya and Nigeria





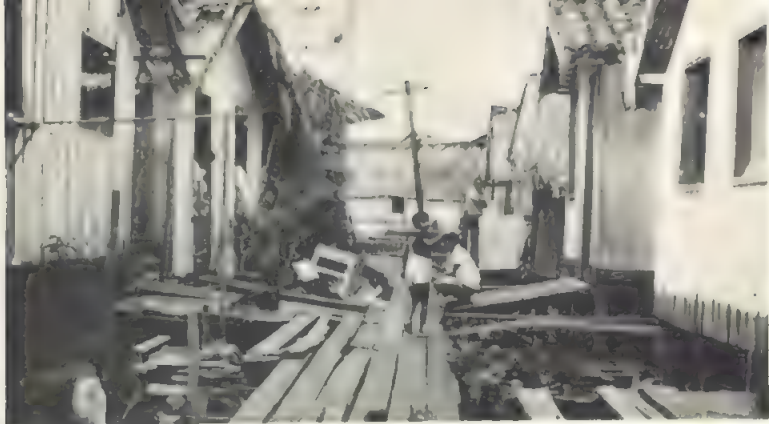
In Afghanistan, co-educational classes for the first time

YOUTH CENTRES
help develop talents.

*Teen-age orchestra
in the Philippines*

*Crafts classes
in the United Arab Republic*





URBANISATION

*In the move
from rural areas
to the cities,
children are the first
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CHILD LABOUR . . .
*in rural areas
as well as in cities*



*Care of the
neglected child
is one of the important
social services.*



because of environmental conditions. What results, therefore, is simply "the postponement of death."

Mr. Pate pointed out that, in the developing countries, the mortality rate for children from one to five years old was 10 to 50 times higher than in the developed countries, a contrast of an average 35 to 1.5 per thousand. Sir John Charles noted that the rates for developing countries today were higher than for the developed countries at the turn of the century.

Dr. Gopalan stressed that the high rates of child mortality in developing countries are still due primarily to malnutrition, either directly or indirectly. Sir John Charles placed emphasis on poor environmental sanitation as well. He noted that in the developing countries the leading causes of child death were diarrheal, which represented a combination of nutrition and infection disorder, and respiratory, which often followed upon the diarrheal disorder. That mortality rates between the ages of one and four can be attacked is evidenced by the fact that in Mexico ten years ago the mortality rate in the one to four age range was 30 per 1,000; it is now 15.

Participants referred to the progress of health for children in their countries. Mr. Ben Salah noted the doubling of the health equipment in Tunisia in the past three and one-half years. Previously children had "been lost" in the common rooms of hospitals. Now there are large children's hospitals and children's wards in general hospitals. Moreover, health education has been pursued in rural areas. The maternal and child welfare centres have developed a policy of preventive medicine.

Education and Vocational Training

Education was naturally accepted by the participants in the conference as a fundamental element in the preparation of children for the demands of adulthood and for a productive contribution to society. The relationship to over-all planning is clearer, moreover, than in most other areas concerning children, because the cost/benefit relationship in economic terms between the educational investment and the eventual productivity of the individual is more apparent. Significant research has been undertaken in this respect under UNESCO sponsorship.

Nevertheless, many aspects of educational concern are related to sectors other than education, and cannot be entirely controlled by those responsible for educational policy. This would include, for example, the problem of "drop-outs" or wastage in public schools. This appears to be a problem that is not entirely within the scope of the educational system alone to manage. Health, vocational training, industry and other sectors would be involved in the development of the policy and plans affecting

children of school age to help cope both with the prevention and with the consequences of wastage. The latter include the loss of literacy and the waste, therefore, of the human and educational investment, when children drop out of school after only one or two years, whether by parental choice, by their own volition, or for inadequacy of resources. How one can pick these children up again either in formal schooling or through providing other opportunities for educational development, and whether any stimuli can be provided for children who may not have schooling available until age ten or later, if at all, represent serious problems.

The conference participants reiterated in a number of connexions their conviction that the education of girls is essential for development, and that there was a great need to reduce the gap between the education of boys and girls in all developing countries.

One of the areas of controversy in the discussion concerning education in the developing countries was the extent to which it should be heavily utilitarian in nature, and specifically whether the nature of the education offered should be designed to prevent the exodus of youth from rural areas to urban centres. With some exceptions, the general consensus was that it is not desirable either to make education too utilitarian, or to focus too much attention on agricultural pursuits in the education of children and youth in rural areas. One of the reasons professed for the former point was that with a rapidly developing technology it may be necessary to retrain people in technical skills in their lifetime, and a broader underlying education could thus be more useful than one oriented to immediate application. Obviously there are no simple solutions in preventing a rural exodus. Developing countries will generally find it extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, to supply sufficient employment opportunities for the youth who would be migrating from rural areas to urban, in search of employment. Stress was placed rather on raising the level of education in both the rural and the urban areas and on creating basic standards common to all education in the country. In the rural areas there is a special need to awaken young minds, and considerably more stress has to be placed on extra-educational activities, especially on the provision of cultural resources and on the exposure to some of the more important cultural facilities that are associated with urban life. It was felt by most that education should help to free those in agricultural areas, and not fix them in a *status quo* by restricting them to agricultural training.

Because of the inadequacy of the existing facilities in education, more practical measures should be brought to bear on making optimum use of existing resources. Thought should be given, for example, to reducing the years of primary education to six as in Tunisia, instead of seven or

eight. One could experiment as well with more intensive and effective teaching methods to speed up learning. The use of the school plant by different groups in the morning and in the afternoon was also encouraged.

In the discussion on planning strategies in education, Professor Sauvy pointed out that in an economically developed country, education costs about 6 per cent of the total national income, but in under-developed countries, to achieve the same result the investment would have to be much higher, because the *per capita* income is much lower, and there is a much higher proportion of children. Moreover, payments to teachers, as Arthur Lewis has pointed out, are much higher proportionately in the developing countries, relative to the average worker's wage, than they are in the economically developed countries.

Professor Sauvy noted that in France the calculation of the total cost of training for an individual from the age of six to the end of his studies, translated into years of productive work, results in the following estimates: to train a child who would become an unskilled worker costs about half a year of work; training of a skilled worker would cost about a little over one year of productive work; and that of an engineer a little more than the cost of four years. By these calculations one then surmises that a skilled worker amortizes the entire cost of his education in two years of his work, whereas he may have an active productive life of forty or forty-five years. It is true that the cost of education is proportionately higher in an economically less developed country, but this ratio of two to forty remains impressive.

Mr. Singer questioned the statement that the training of a skilled worker is repaid to society within one productive year. He felt that a better comparison is the cost of training compared to the additional output of the skilled over the unskilled man. Professor Sauvy replied that his comparison was to a full year of productive work. The net difference in production would, however, amortize the cost within two and one-half years.

In relation to this general discussion, Mr. Singer stated that he was glad to see that the false issue of an economic versus a humanitarian approach did not arise. An economic view of social investment prevents "a false policy sailing under the deceiving flag of humanitarianism."

The subject of education also precipitated considerable discussion of the "hard choices" which developing countries are often compelled to make. In education this was illustrated by the Tanganyikan situation. There, as previously indicated, the perspective plan calls for maintaining the *status quo* in primary education. No more than 50 per cent of the children will be able to receive primary education. The accent is on the development of secondary education, of training in vocational skills and in higher education. The limited resources must go into widening the

now extremely narrow channel from primary school years to secondary school years, if the country is to have anywhere near the trained manpower it requires. This means, however, that for a generation to come, children of school age will be deprived of elementary schooling.

Mr. Swai noted that there was no fully qualified African engineer or doctor in Tanganyika at the time of independence. This situation is now being remedied. There are enough who complete primary education to enter secondary school and to provide the reservoir for an adequate selection. The ratio of those who go on from standard eight to secondary school is one to three. By that time the students have enough knowledge of English to be able to receive instruction from teachers who are imported. The need for expatriate teachers is very great; the programme for secondary education requires 12,000 graduate teachers. There are relatively few qualified African teachers, for the profession of teaching in East Africa is not popular. High priority in planning has to be accorded to increasing the output of secondary school teachers.

Many other countries face the choice between the maintenance of minimum standards in quality of education, or distributing education very broadly even if the standards fall far short of what would be deemed the acceptable minimum.

It was Professor Bobrowski who first addressed the question of the choice to be made between quantity and quality. In Poland, after World War II, there was widespread use of insufficiently trained "moniteurs." If not for them, however, there would have been no education at all for the children of that time. Necessity requires improvisation and inservice training for the untrained.

Professor Rao expanded on the quantity/quality problem. In India, there is now presumably compulsory education up to the age of eleven, not up to the age of fourteen, as the Constitution in fact provides. It has been scaled down as a result of experience with the first two five-year plans. There is a large number of teachers who have not taken teacher-training courses. The effort has been made to increase the percentage of trained teachers, which is now about 65 per cent. The target is, of course, 100 per cent, and untrained teachers are to be sent to teachers' colleges. In India, pre-school centres have been started with the leadership of untrained women. Now there is a programme for training pre-school teachers. Having had a crash programme on quantity, the country is interested in improving the quality of teaching by giving training to these women. One looks to university centres and other advanced centres of learning to keep the level as high as possible.

On the quantity/quality issue the conference participants generally felt that it is desirable to spread benefits most widely, and also to have some demonstration or training centres of the highest quality to serve

as standard-setting beacons. Moreover, the necessity of having auxiliary personnel, or those trained for very short periods, to man basic services, makes it more rather than less necessary to have highly trained managers, directors and supervisors of programmes, who can make the most efficient and selective use of the relatively untrained personnel. Eventually one should, of course, foresee a distribution of personnel, with better trained people below the level of programme directors.

Mr. Subba-Rao felt that one could expand education with little sacrifice of quality by greater utilisation of local resources. The same is true of health. Ninety to 95 per cent of the births in India are now attended by midwives, and there is an attempt to bring them into the network of maternal and child health services. The training they receive is only ten days to one month, but shows a very great return.

The quality problem was further illustrated in both India and Brazil. While in India the public expects universal primary education, only 55 per cent of the children actually attend primary schools. The pace of progress in education on all levels has been beyond the resources of the country. Many institutions of higher learning have been opened which could not be adequately staffed. There are engineering and medical colleges not yet fully staffed or equipped and, as a result, there has been a deterioration of standards. On the other hand, one cannot halt popular demands in a country governed by democratic principles. In this connexion, Professor Rao emphasised the implications of the Indian situation for international assistance, first with respect to equipment for educational institutions, and second, in understanding the "capital goods" investment in education; the importance of investing, in other words, for the production of trainers of teachers via international assistance.

In Brazil, as well, the case of inadequately prepared teachers, especially for primary education, is widespread. While the numbers of children engaged in primary education increase, the quality of such education is often poor by even the most modest standards.

In Tunisia, universal primary school education has apparently been succeeding and is to be achieved completely by 1967. The number of those in primary schools has doubled since the time of independence. Hundreds of schools have been constructed by popular efforts. Finding suitable staff, however, is difficult, particularly secondary school teachers.

In connexion with the question of the relationship of school to society, Professor Rao commented that he saw considerable value in the system that is prevalent in the United States of active parent/school committees, with parents being involved in the educational system, and thus providing a link between the school and the community. This pattern is not working as well in India.

Dame Younghusband supported Professor Rao's observations about

the importance of parent/teacher associations and mothers' clubs. She observed that generally the former rather than the latter should be encouraged, since they involved fathers too. However, this may not be possible in those cultures where the upbringing of children is considered entirely the responsibility of women, and not of men.

Professor Miterev felt that society should have additional sources of influence on the child, aside from the teachers. He referred to the pioneer youth organisations in the USSR, and to other community youth organisations which help to mobilise what is "positive" in the community, to support the best qualities in the child.

In opening up the subject of vocational training, Mrs. Johnstone pointed out that there is sometimes too much stress on the side of formal education and an underestimation of other means of acquiring knowledge and skill, for example, through various forms of vocational training. Mrs. Johnstone laid stress on the importance of integrating all forms of education and training in school or out of school and of unifying them within a coherent system. All aspects of this system should be designed not to freeze the *status quo*, but to open the doors of occupational opportunity for children and young persons. In this connexion vocational guidance and occupational information for young people play a highly useful role, helping to give them a realistic orientation to employment and self-sufficiency in both urban and rural areas.

When aspirations of young people for rapid economic and social mobility are based on illusions, the consequences for them and for the country can be most grave. Such unrealistic hopes and ambitions are often engendered in young people, who have received a modicum of education, enough to be able to read, write and count. In areas where even limited education is not widespread, the fact of literacy is sometimes regarded as sufficient to enter upon "white collar," non-manual occupations, conceived as being more financially rewarding and prestigious. On the basis of such four or five years worth of education, youth from rural areas may flock to the cities; and urban youth attempt to leap into occupations requiring skills which they are totally lacking.

While education in schools should not be exclusively utilitarian, its relationship to manpower requirements clearly needs emphasis. Above all, in both the more and less formal educational systems, the more academic and the more vocational, awareness of what preparation is required for various types of occupation should be incorporated into the educational system. Where the transformation of agriculture is required, education in rural areas should be influenced by this need. In countries where secondary education of acceptable quality is available to relatively few, vocational training in a variety of forms is urgently required for the main body of youth, such training to be related to foreseeable manpower needs.

example, than have health, education or vocational training. It is not always possible to show benefits in the social welfare field in the form of economic returns. But there are often hard quantitative facts that can be used—such as costs, manpower requirements, numbers and classification of people to be served, time periods and the like. Where the objectives of returns to be sought cannot be adequately defined statistically, there is no point in reducing them to statistics. The social welfare expert should strive, however, to make these objectives as clear and as explicit as possible for the planner. One cannot assume beforehand that the economist-planner would be unsympathetic to these objectives, certainly not on the basis of the discussions of this round-table conference, or insensitive to their importance; but he has to know what to be sympathetic and sensitive about.

The conference recognised that there should be special services to vulnerable groups among children, but priority should be given to widespread needs. Resources to meet such widespread needs could include community centres, the range of activities generally falling within community development, the education of mothers, recreational provisions and day-care facilities. Services to vulnerable child and youth groups would include economic and other assistance to the deprived families with children, to the care of abandoned, neglected or delinquent children, social provisions for handicapped children in the form of special resources available directly or through schools, courts or hospitals. In general, it was agreed that social welfare services for children are best achieved through strengthening family life. On the other hand, provision of day-care facilities in one form or another for children of working mothers is essential, but thus far day-care facilities have generally been given insufficient attention and are insufficiently developed.

The care of children in their pre-school years should not be neglected, both for the children of working mothers and others as well, since the first five years of life represent the most important period for laying the foundation of a healthy and productive future of the individual. In care for the pre-school child, health, nutrition and social welfare sectors are all involved.

There was a general consensus that, on the whole, children grow up more successfully in a stable family than under any other condition. Not all that should be known is known about the most desirable substitute arrangements. Miss Younghusband observed that, with respect to foster homes, as against institutions for children, we went through an unfortunate period when we thought that we helped children by taking them out of their own poverty-stricken homes and putting them in institutions. We have now learned the basic importance of the family as the medium for raising children, and more particularly small children. There is a good

deal that can be measured in costs for various forms of day-care for children of employed mothers, whether they are in crèches or in kindergartens, near the mothers or in separate installations. In addition to factors of increasing employment of women and the financial costs of these various arrangements, one should keep in mind the consequences of these various arrangements on the personality development of the small child.

Professor Miterev agreed generally that the child develops better by staying with his mother. However, he noted that in socialist countries women work, they have four months' maternity leave and can stay away from work as much as a year. They then return. Something must be done for the child, who should be entrusted to trustworthy hands. In the Soviet Union the children are cared for in nurseries and, Professor Miterev stated, they do not lag behind children who remain in their own homes. Moreover, they are in constant contact with the families for sixteen hours of the day. The pre-school institutions work. When a country reaches the level of industrial development, where all women can be employed, this kind of solution is inevitable.

Mr. Ben Salah raised the question of the effects of institutional programmes of this kind, however, on coming generations. He felt that the child, from the day of his birth, should be educated both mentally and physically within his family. In the school he will come under different influences. Sometimes these influences will be contradictory to those stemming from his home environment.

It was amply recognised in the conference that the question of planning for the pre-school child was typical of the cross-sectoral programme that could rarely be planned for or executed successfully through only one ministry.

In a situation that is similar to health resources, the social welfare services find themselves compelled to provide treatment instead of putting most of their energies into preventive services. This becomes so because it is impossible to ignore the delinquent, homeless or abandoned child. In total planning for services for children, however, it is essential that preventive services be developed parallel with treatment services.

Dame Younghusband emphasised that we must identify the simplest possible resources with which we can do something effective.

One of the illustrations of the need for preventive action in family protection was given by Mrs. Junqueira. A family allowance bill has recently been passed in Brazil, and a way has therefore been found to avoid the break-up of families for economic reasons. However, there is no family welfare system and very few agencies offer any effective help in the adjustment and strengthening of family life. Special services exist for maternity and infancy, for pregnant women and unmarried mothers, but nothing for the family as such. The absence of day-care facilities and the

In Tanganyika, Mr. Swai indicated, an effort has been made to make agriculture more attractive. One cannot provide enough employment opportunities in the city to take school graduates from rural areas to urban. While the approach of rural transformation is expensive and entails many risks, it is the only solution that can work.

Mr. Singer observed that no degree of industrialisation can provide sufficient employment for all those who wish to migrate from rural to urban areas. The solution comes only when new technologies develop for poorer countries. Labour-intensive technology is essential for rapid industrialisation. Mr. Touré observed that only rapid industrialisation can be seen as a solution to the rural exodus problem. When industrial production can be decentralised, one can then enlarge the prospects for rural stability and growth.

Professor Pusic also felt that it was impossible to avoid a rural exodus. In addition, however, a certain amount of dissatisfaction cannot be divorced from positive motives for development. Agrarian reform may keep people in villages, but it is important to keep in mind that new types of services should be organised in the villages in early stages of development; multi-purpose workers are needed for these services.

Professor Sauvy commented that it is not possible to say that people who move to the city are any less happy than they were in their peasant conditions. Moreover, generations differ. It is difficult to train illiterate adults to acquire skills needed for high productivity; literate young people can, however, adapt rapidly to modern technologies. Dumont showed in his work that it is possible to raise the productive level of the peasant by teaching him to use tools at his level of capacity. One should concentrate on adaptations to the present through, for example, providing better tools for the adult peasant, and also on adaptations to the future through, for example, preparing them to use modern techniques for the young.

In general there was a consensus in the conference to see the transformation of traditional agriculture and the stimulation of the faculties of young people who stay in rural areas as the most fundamental means of staying the tempo of the rural exodus to cities. This was in accordance with the position noted in the discussion on education, to the effect that one should not provide differential education to urban and rural youth in the sense that the latter would be more utilitarian than the former.

PLANNING APPROACHES

General Points

In the consideration of planning approaches stress was given to the principle of complementarity among services in different fields; for example, where education is being given, it is necessary to have a minimum level of health services. Complementary services on a minimum effective level accomplish more than the same expenditure on unrelated services. One of the lines of research in development planning should be to examine the interrelationship of various efforts in different sectors, discovering the minimum as well as the optimum investments that are required in a number of fields simultaneously, in order to make the best return on the investment in any one field. In the education/health example it is obvious that trying to educate a malnourished, weakened child is economically inefficient, aside from the humane considerations.

In the early stages of planning for any of the developing countries the time period of the operational plan should not be too long, probably three to five years at the most. This is so because the plans will have to be started on the basis of inadequate information, and there will undoubtedly be unforeseen results of whatever is being done that could significantly alter the plan within a relatively short time. The normal method of setting long-range targets to satisfy needs would generally be applicable when the country has reached a certain minimum level of resources, personnel and income which gives them the necessary freedom to manoeuvre.

It is important to distinguish between instrumental targets and goal targets. Instrumental targets involve those goals which represent means to achieve the ultimate objectives. The latter constitute the goal targets; for example, the provision of nurses and doctors represents instrumental targets, while the goal target is the reduction of disease rates, the reduction of child mortality, improvement in physical growth and the like. One of the cautions to be observed in the provision of plans in developing countries is the tendency to equate instrumental targets with goal targets and so possibly to blur ends and maximise means. Evaluation of success or failure should, therefore, be as much on the basis of goals achieved as on the provisions to meet these goals, as much on what children learn as on the provision of schooling, as much on the lowering of the principal disease rates affecting children as on the provision of clinics or hospital beds for children. Both the means and the objectives should be included in the targets of a plan.

Professor Bobrowski observed a semantic problem in the use of the word "planning." It was his thought that in the usage of socialistic countries a plan must be an internally consistent set of quantified goals and

appropriate means. In the French speaking countries much less stress is laid on the problem of means (instrumental goals). In Anglo-Saxon countries it represents just an orderly arrangement of objectives (not necessarily quantified), he suggested.

The Quantification Issue

Mr. Kaser referred to three techniques which, he believes, with some adaptation, could be used for social planning:

1. The clarification of policy-making by distinguishing between broad aims and the more precise targets which can be defined by statistical information.

2. The analysis of decisions and how they are made at various levels.

3. An analysis of the process of production and distribution, input/output tabulations and the pattern of exchanges between regions of a country.

All would be assisted by the use of computers to determine the inter-relationship of results, and by the standardisation and general improvement of statistics.

Mr. Singer observed that all planning of projects must be in quantitative terms, but in some areas in the social field there is nothing quantitative available. One cannot, for example, really compare the value of additional steel output with increases in life expectancy. There are certain prior value decisions that have been made and have been translated into targets. He cautioned about utilising computer methods and input/output analysis for the problems of social planning. If one ignores human input and output, he observed, one may neglect the most important factors.

Professor Sauvy also noted that computers can be used to measure internal coherence, but he can see no other utility for them at the present time, and they obviously could not substitute for judgments by policy-makers. At the same time, he suggested that it is necessary to develop calculations in quantitative terms as far as possible, in spite of the value questions. Children may be less neglected by society if one can show the economic returns for what is invested in them. The productivity wastage in child mortality can be calculated in economic terms when it can be shown, for example, that the investment in developing a manual labourer is amortised in only one or two years of productive work.

The old method of "material balances," Professor Bobrowski observed, is still irreplaceable. In the absence of quantification other measures can be used, for example, readjusting glaring distortions as in the Tanganyikan case; removing the key problem, for instance, when the presence of infectious diseases on an endemic basis prevents any other kind of

graphic data, and one must, therefore, consider practical methods and processes and planning principles on an elementary basis.

Setting Social Targets for Children

Mr. McGranahan raised the question of the extent to which targets can actually be set for children in development planning. While in education such targets must be set, in health they are usually set for the population as a whole, and it does not follow that in particular health programmes, targets should be or can be set separately for children. Moreover, much social planning is experimental in nature, aimed at determining whether certain methods work, and in such cases target-setting is not particularly appropriate. There are also aspects of life, such as the quality of family life and family care, which are not easily quantifiable.

Targets of a social nature concerned with children may, however, be determined by several approaches:

1. The traditional assessment of needs for better nutrition, health, literacy, etc.
2. Determining the requirements dictated by other parts of the development plan, for example, requirements for education may be set by targets for industrial development.
3. "Cost/benefit analysis," which aims to show what one is getting out of what is put in.
4. The use of comparative standards. When the purpose is to set standards for the social development of a country as a whole, countries use international standards, based on what other countries of the same economic level are doing. With this method certain standard international ratios can be established.

Mr. McGranahan also cautioned that the amount of planning that should be done must be balanced with the level of development. It is possible to "over-plan" by spending too much on the process of research rather than simply going out and doing what is obviously necessary.

Professor Tinbergen observed that, by and large, the essential features of development plans do serve the main interests of children by their very nature. There is, in other words, a strong parallelism between the goals of development and meeting the needs of children. Education is a case in point. In the details of development policy, however, there can be neglect of certain particular interests of children. These often concern conditions which existing institutions such as the family and the school are not yet handling properly. Special attention may, therefore, have to be devoted to school milk distribution, medical care through the school, the provision of adequate recreation in over-crowded areas, social legisla-

tion to protect children with regard to working hours, for example, and so forth. For these reasons, UNICEF should continue to present, at the highest levels of national and international policy-making, the needs of children as an important focus in development policies. He cautioned, however, against UNICEF engaging in general planning activities, including general nutrition planning, and against duplication of activities already being carried out by other agencies. His accent, in other words, was on UNICEF using specific means to enhance the well-being of children rather than on using more general approaches.

Mr. Singer noted that it is not possible to be as precise in the setting of social targets as one can be in the setting of economic targets. However, he observed, when one compares the values of given improvements in the economic field against certain improvements in the social field, targets can be selected. One may decide, for example, that a million tons of steel is at the present time more important than lengthening life expectancy. This weighing of one objective against the other is a matter of judgment or strategy.

He pointed out too that, while target setting is necessary and desirable for rational allocation of resources to social development, including child development, there are two senses in which one is not really setting targets. One is where "we do the best we can" and hope for the best possible results. The other is where one is speaking of a strategy of development by which we decide what percentage of our resources to allocate to social as against economic development, even though one cannot make precise measurements or set precise targets.

National Policies for Children

The importance of developing national policies for children in the various countries received considerable attention during the conference. It was felt that the components of this policy should include a statement of the major problems that the nation wishes to address which concern its younger generation and its expectation for achieving certain results within defined time periods. It should constitute as well a call for support from the nation as a whole and for the participation of its people in realising these objectives. To highlight the issues and goals involved, there should be a national body composed of leaders in governmental and non-governmental circles, who would serve to develop public consciousness of children's needs.

Included among such objectives would not only be goals related to health and nutrition, education and social welfare services, vocational education and provision of employment for youth, but also the inculca-

tion of fundamental values such as honesty, democratic attitudes, feeling of loyalty to home and country, and the promotion of international understanding and friendship. Indeed, in the larger view of creating a world of peace and plenty, the importance of developing a world perspective within nations, and particularly among children and youth through the educational process, was deemed essential. Naturally, the desirability of promoting such values is appropriate to all countries whatever the level of technological development or national income. The point during the meeting was to focus an emphasis on such qualities to be developed among children and youth as part of total planning objectives for the younger generation.

Dr. Sicault laid particular stress on the importance of analysing in each country the situation of its children. He emphasised that children are the chief victims of under-development, with its consequences of disease, malnutrition and ignorance. The relative importance of the key needs varies among countries and within countries at different periods of time. It may be malaria, which decimates the child population and blocks economic progress, it may be the absence of food or the right kinds of food, or the absence of proper physical care for the expectant mother or the newborn child. What is important is for each government to examine the needs of children within their country and to set priorities for action in relation to the total plan of economic and social development being constructed. Even where there is not a great deal of information, relatively brief surveys can help set priorities for action. He called attention to the need to train the country's own personnel, who are to assume responsibility for the promotion of development, and who therefore should assume responsibility for the definition and strengthening of a policy for children.

An undercurrent in the discussion was the theme that children in the developing countries have no spokesman, and they require, for their interests to be met, a conscious and deliberate governmental policy and the kind of "watchdog" function which a national body concerned with implementing and highlighting this policy could assume.

In the presentation by Dean Schottland of the way in which the United States attempts to mobilise its resources for the welfare of children and that of Dr. Studenikin in describing the way the USSR has set priorities for child health and child welfare generally, a picture was drawn of the way two economically developed countries with different economic and political systems have attempted to cope with meeting the needs of children. In the case of the United States, emphasis has been placed on the interdependence of governmental and non-governmental bodies, of inter-departmental committees within the government and on the diverse functions related to children which are carried on by different depart-

ments in the federal government, and on the state and municipal levels. At the same time emphasis was given to such important measures for directing popular attention to the needs of children and setting plans forward as the White House Conference on Children, which is held every ten years and involves large numbers of experts and laymen in every state.

In the case of the USSR, primary focus was placed on the ways in which centralised planning has decreased child mortality, spread universal education and the development of a network of maternal and child health services. Dr. Studenikin stated that over 30 per cent of the budgetary allocations in the USSR are destined for children.

Popular Participation in Planning

Considerable attention was given to the theme of popular participation in the planning process. The case of Tunisia is unique in that the Minister of Finance is also the Minister of Planning, so that decisions about implementing plans in the social field are not handicapped by having to interpret these needs to the Minister of Finance. Mr. Ben Salah stated that in the development of the plan in Tunisia there is a planning week, when all administrators go to the provinces and explain the nature of the plan to the communities. On the basis of this process a ten-year perspective plan was constructed. The ideas of representatives of labour unions as well as representatives from youth groups, political parties and other interest groups were invited. In the second plan, beginning in 1965, these modes of popular participation will become even more formalised, since all groups of specialists will participate, particularly in the sectors involving their field, so that doctors would be participating, for example, in the review of health plans.

He suggested that some economists may not agree that the time, energy and cost needed to elicit popular participation in planning were worthwhile. However, no development of material resources is worthwhile if people do not develop at the same time; otherwise there would simply be another version of development that is imposed on people. The capacity to participate in the planning process is one of the capacities to develop in a people. In opening up such horizons one also stimulates a national civic consciousness. Such civic consciousness in the case of Tunisia was essential, because with the coming of independence many thought a "magic wand" would be waved and immediate prosperity and happiness would be forthcoming. The government has tried to show that independence requires more and not less work, and popular participation in planning was one of the ways in which the lesson was learned. As a result, programmes such as agricultural camps have been developed so that

everyone could find some work, legislation has been adopted to raise the status of women, family planning objectives have been set forth and economic progress is being achieved, with rapid increases in the gross national product.

Mr. Riby-Williams spoke for several other participants in observing that the developing countries can learn from the experiences of other developing countries and from the more industrialised countries such as the USSR and the USA. In the USSR the experience of emphasising basic responsibilities of the state for meeting human needs was a meaningful lesson; from the USA one can learn the lessons of inter-departmental co-ordination and national conferences to co-ordinate different sectors and mobilise popular participation.

Organisational and Administrative Aspects

Contrary to some prior anticipation, relatively little stress was placed during the conference on planning structure itself. Agreement was rapidly achieved, with no dissenting voice, that a separate planning sector for children was generally inadvisable. It was considered fruitless, in view of the shortage of time and the major objectives of the meeting, to engage in too concentrated a fashion on the structure of planning. This was deemed too large a subject to be encompassed with relatively brief discussion, and generalisations about the importance of co-ordination, communication, etc., were judged of little value.

Two principal contributions to this area, however, were the points made by Professor Tinbergen and Professor Pusic.

Professor Tinbergen stated that, in his view, governmental bodies should be so arranged that each handles a certain instrument of action, rather than being organised around a target, since there is considerable interdependence in economic and social life, and the total complex of targets to be pursued must be met jointly by the whole set of instruments. Each instrument, for example, taxes, investments, health centres, schools, serves a number of different targets, for example, raising future production, keeping the balance of payments in order, furthering employment and health. If ministries were organised according to targets, each would have a large number of instruments leading to duplication. They, therefore, should be organised according to instruments, but then should be instructed about the relative weight the government wishes to give the various targets, and these weights should be determined by top government decision, based on studies of the planning agency. The same thinking can be used in the allocation of functions for international agencies.

Professor Pusic stressed, among other points, the advisability of in-

cluding representatives of mass organisations, such as women's and youth organisations, the Red Cross or any of the large organisations particularly interested in children, into the political process of planning. In developing the theme of the political factors in planning, he referred to the importance of working at the local level and the great advantages of local action in providing flexibility in the way in which a plan can be implemented, as well as its important educational consequences. This led in turn to the possibility of involving community development, but in this connexion Professor Pusic raised several questions, which he felt were unanswered, about the role and function of community development, particularly whether community development can be harnessed specifically for the interests of children.

The conference recognised important research needs in planning for children and youth. These include the factors that make for educational wastage and ways of reducing it, and the study of diverse methods of providing for pre-school children both in relation to economic costs and returns and from the psychological and social vantage points.

Dean Schottland stressed the importance of research in national planning for children and the kinds of information that have to be developed through research, and this view was shared by many.

Professor Debré, among others, suggested that the training of planners should include an orientation to the physical, emotional and social development of children and youth. It was recognised that it would be difficult to provide, even under ideal conditions, comprehensive understanding in these areas, with everything else a planner must learn. However, even a general view of child development and child needs could, it was felt, provide the planner with greater awareness of the impact of a plan on the younger generation, and the demands that would have to be made of them for the success of the plan.

By the same token, conference participants felt that specialists in the needs of children and youth in developing countries should have an orientation to planning methodology and objectives. The goal of such training would not be to make planners out of child specialists, but to make it more possible for them to communicate with planners in more meaningful terms.

Conference participants noted that the needs in the training of planners cannot be solved entirely within the developing countries themselves. Attention should be addressed to where courses are now being given to see what could be done to add understanding of children's needs to existing courses outside of the developing countries.

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In light of the above discussions the conference adopted before adjournment the following set of conclusions, which have been given worldwide circulation in all principal languages to governments and non-governmental organisations.

REFERENCES

1. Refer to Dr. Autret's statement and table, Part III. Working papers and statements, pages 132-138.

CONCLUSIONS

Premises

1. The round-table conference, composed of national planners and specialists in the needs of children, affirms the necessity of ensuring that the needs of children and youth are given adequate consideration in the national planning of developing countries. Plans for economic and social development normally reflect concern for the needs of children, starting with the premise that a rise in national income will redound to the benefit of the nation's children. Moreover, the planning of investments in manpower resources is generally regarded as imperative.

2. Nevertheless, a review of experience to date leads to the conclusion that more systematic attention should be given in the plan to all aspects which concern children and youth. This would include an examination of what the plan implicitly requires of them in such terms as manpower resources and other objectives for the development of the country. It would also cover the social needs of children and youth that should be reflected in the plan. Otherwise, crucial needs may be overlooked, fall between sectors, or not be given balanced emphasis. Neither a separate governmental sector for children nor a separate section of the plan for children is called for, but rather a deliberate analysis of the investments and consumption expenditures required for the protection and development of children and youth, within and cutting across sectors, in relation to the development objectives of the nation and its available resources. Such expenditures are justified from both an economic and a social point of view.

3. Each country, whether or not fully equipped with data and planning machinery, should develop a national policy for its children and youth. This policy should contain a statement of the major problems confronting the younger generation, and the nation's expectations for achieving results within given time periods. It should also involve a call for support from the nation as a whole, and for the participation of its people in realising these objectives. In addition to specific targets of development to be achieved during given time periods relating to such material needs as health and nutrition, the national policy should include objectives designed to ensure and strengthen the transmission of funda-

mental values such as honesty, democratic attitudes, loyalty to home and country, and a deep sense of international understanding and solidarity.

4. For this latter purpose, the receptivity and fresh outlook of childhood should be drawn upon to build understanding among all the peoples of the world. Not yet weighed down with artificial prejudices and narrow provincialism, the children of the world should have the opportunity to remain free of these stifling handicaps, enfeebling and dangerous to themselves and to the world at large. It is through values of universal brotherhood first felt in the hearts of children that the minds of men can become open to the eventual creation of a peaceful world community. Such values transcend, of course, questions of stages of economic development and are imperative for all countries. Progress in these directions can be achieved through national and international programmes of study and action.

Planning Approaches

5. Whatever the degree of development of the country, periodic and systematic assessments of the situation of children and youth are urged, in order to determine the most important problems, to evaluate the results of previous actions, and to select logical points on which to concentrate.

6. Planning for the interests of children and youth would be aided by the expression and stimulation of public awareness through a national group composed of governmental as well as non-governmental leaders, who would serve to highlight the needs of children and youth and help in the formulation of a national policy for them. A committee of the legislative body should be formed to sustain governmental interest in this field. The organisation of planning for the needs of children and youth should be co-ordinated at an inter-ministerial level and in the planning commission (or other corresponding central planning mechanism). Other means, more appropriate to the socio-economic structures of various countries, might be used to achieve the same objectives.

7. The final goals of a policy for children and youth can often best be expressed in terms of social values rather than in quantitative terms. It is, therefore, sometimes necessary to quantify means rather than ends. The planner should be supplied with as much quantitative data as possible, however preliminary and approximate they may be. Insufficient effort has thus far been devoted to locating and preparing relevant data in the quantitative terms most useful to planners. Efforts to remedy this situation should be encouraged. Education and vocational training have been recognised as investments. Similar recognition should be accorded to health, nutrition, and social welfare services.

8. Insufficient quantitative data need not preclude a programme of action. Among the guiding criteria for such action may be: the correction of flagrant distortions or inequities, such as imbalances in the development of the educational system or unusually high rates of nutrition disorders in certain geographical areas within the country; the removal of bottle-necks and preparation required for programmes in future development plans; feasibility rather than optimisation when few choices are possible; comparison with standards in other countries of similar economic position; the choice of simpler rather than more complex programmes; the economy, or better returns, to be obtained from developing complementary services; the choice of low-cost programmes based on local resources which would otherwise not be used. Where the limitation of resources requires partial goals in social sectors, priority should be given to the needs of children and youth.

Main Needs of Children and Youth to Be Considered by the Planner

9. Indirect as well as direct means of improving the situation of children and youth should be considered. Indirect means of great importance can include the use of fiscal policy, redistribution of income, price policy directed to foods, subsidised family housing, and other economic measures designed to help children within their families, particularly those in lower-income groups.

10. Many countries are concerned with the rapid growth of their population in comparison with their rate of economic growth. Programmes, addressed to the survival and well-being of infants and young children and the improvement of family hygiene and education in family life generally, may be expected to encourage family planning.

Health, and Food and Nutrition

11. The leading sources of child mortality and morbidity are malnutrition, infectious diseases, and poor sanitation. The plan should give emphasis to well co-ordinated preventive services, and the progressive extension of maternal and child health services in the framework of basic health services.

12. The problem of food and nutrition is most important in the pre-school age when the requirement of protein is high, and when the damage done by malnutrition and under-nutrition can be irreversible. Special attention should be given to the production of protein-rich foods and also to ensuring their availability to children and youth. There

should be co-ordination of food planning policy and of nutritional programmes; this co-ordination could be secured either within the planning commission or at a high inter-ministerial level. At least health, agriculture, and education should be represented in such a policy-making body. Similarly, the training of professional personnel in these fields should include nutritional orientation. There is also a need for wide-spread diffusion of nutrition education in the population at large through home economics, community development, social work, agricultural extension and multi-purpose workers at the village and local community levels.

Education and Vocational Training

13. One of the functions of education is to prepare the child for a constructive life. A long-term educational development plan should take account of the goals of the general development plan, and in particular of those goals relating to population policy, civic education, manpower needs, the preparation of managerial and supervisory personnel, and nutrition and health education. Educational development plans should try to meet the needs of children and youth who have not had any schooling or who have dropped out before completing it; literacy and other programmes outside schools for young people and adults should be extended. Pre-vocational and vocational training, including apprenticeship, should also be expanded through the use of resources in the public and industrial sectors. The planning and development of networks of both vocational training and educational facilities should be closely integrated, and related to the occupational opportunities for young people.

Urban and Rural Needs

14. Rapid industrialisation, unless well planned, may lead to the creation of slum conditions which adversely affect the welfare of children and youth. To deal with this problem there should be co-ordinated action of health, sanitation, social welfare services, education, and training; low-cost food for infants and pre-school children; and low-cost housing and recreation areas.

15. A similar co-ordination is required in the case of rural children, including special attention to the provision of wholesome drinking water and proper environmental sanitation.

Social Welfare Services

16. Social welfare services for children and youth should not be exclusively provided for vulnerable groups. Social welfare services should become available to all children and youth, and their objectives should include improving the adaptation of the family to changing social condi-

tions and social demands. Emphasis should thus be given to such measures as those designed to strengthen family life, to educate parents in child rearing and to help working mothers. Specific attention should be paid to prevention of emotional as well as physical deprivation. As resources permit, provision should be made to meet the needs of major vulnerable groups such as abandoned, neglected, illegitimate, delinquent, and handicapped children. In general, priority should be given to preventive rather than to remedial services, and to rehabilitation rather than to palliative assistance.

Youth Employment

17. Many countries foresee a continuation of their grave problems of unemployment and under-employment of youth, even after their perspective plans have been completed, despite all measures currently being undertaken and planned for the future. It would be important to review whatever experience is available as a result of the attempts by various countries to cope with this problem, and to initiate further study and pilot projects.

Training and Research

18. Training possibilities should be expanded as a priority for all those concerned with the welfare of children and youth, with particular attention to the preparation of auxiliary workers, and on-the-job training.

19. There is need for more research, especially applied research, in several fields bearing directly on aspects of planning concerning children and youth. Research programmes, both inside and outside the family of the United Nations, could contribute greatly to resolving some of the pressing problems of services and planning related to children and youth.

Information for Planners and Specialists in the Problems of Children and Youth

20. Those to be concerned with the planning of the social aspects of development, whether at the level of the general plan or in ministries, should be given basic knowledge of the specific problems facing children and youth in the developing countries. There is a parallel need for those in ministries, who are to be concerned with the planning aspects of services bearing on children and youth, to be given some basic knowledge of planning methods. For both these purposes, use may be made of existing training institutions and programmes, both inside and outside the United Nations family.

International Action

21. The needs of the children and youth of the developing countries are such that external assistance continues to be required on a much larger scale than at present. All sources of aid, bilateral as well as international, are encouraged by the conference to consider how their programmes might take fuller account of the needs of children and youth. Such consideration might have particular relevance to nutrition problems, to which a number of programmes of the United Nations family, as well as bilateral programmes, might well be able to make a larger contribution in the future.

22. In view of the importance of human resources to economic development, the round-table welcomed the recognition recently given by international financial organisations to investment in education and training at certain levels, and hopes that similar recognition may be extended to requirements in other social fields concerned with the rising generation.

23. It is recommended that UNICEF, in co-operation with the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and with the specialised agencies concerned, should explore the possibility of a thoroughly prepared World Conference on the place of children and youth in economic and social development. It is similarly recommended that UNICEF should explore, together with UNESCO and the other international agencies concerned, all possible measures to promote international understanding among children and youth.

PART III

WORKING PAPERS
AND
STATEMENTS

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

India's Approach to Planning for the Needs of Children and Youth

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR V. K. R. V. RAO

The number of children under 14 years of age in India in 1961 was 173 million, practically the entire population of the United States in all age groups. From this one may have some idea of the enormous magnitude of the problem of planning for children. With the possible exception of the United States and the Soviet Union, I think India has more university teachers than most developed countries. The number of people who go to the universities and colleges in India is 1.4 million, and the number increases every day. There are not less than 60,000 teachers of university standing. Compare the United Kingdom, where the total number of persons going to college is about 150,000 to 160,000. In the United States there are 3 million persons going to colleges, but there is no other developed country where the college enrolment is as large as that in India, and yet we are presumably not a "developed" country.

As to population, I think the smallest member of the United Nations has less than 100,000. India, with its present population of nearly 450 million is the largest member of the United Nations, and this makes life extraordinarily difficult for Indians because our problems are enormous. For example, in the first ten years of planning, we added 35 million children to our primary schools, but that still leaves 58 per cent of the age group (6-14) not in school.

A problem of this magnitude could occur in no other single country. We have to take this into account in considering effective programmes of child welfare and youth welfare and so on in a large country like India.

Nevertheless, our problem in education is not entirely unlike that of Tanganyika. You have, for example, the same problem of getting enough trained teachers for primary schools. Out of 1 million primary school teachers at present not more than 69 per cent are trained. Our problem is like that of Tanganyika also in that people do not want to become primary school teachers, because the pay is less than that of a messenger or a policeman or even an unskilled urban worker. In India an increase in their pay means an increase that has to be multiplied by 1 million. So, though we are very much advanced in absolute terms, when you come down to the heart of the matter our problem is not dissimilar to the problems of the other developing countries.

In the first ten years of the plan, the number of primary schools increased by 59 per cent, middle schools by 229 per cent and secondary schools by 136 per cent. In Tanganyika, also, the growth of secondary schools was more than that of primary schools. The Indian educational programme places great

emphasis on technical education. Fifteen years ago, we had anticipated what was going to happen by 1965-66 and as a result the annual out-turn of engineering graduates will have increased nearly five times, from 2,200 graduates to 12,000 graduates. The annual out-turn of diploma holders with three years of training after secondary education will have increased from 2,500 to nearly 20,000. There has almost been a revolution as can be seen from the increase in the number of engineering colleges, in the number of polytechnic diploma holders, and the numbers in craft training and in vocational institutions. The figures are staggering, but they are still not adequate to meet the requirements.

In 1947 there were about 4,000 students at the Delhi University; today there are about 30,000. While educational planning should be done in terms of economics and in terms of quality, you are confronted with a popular demand which cannot be curtailed. Somehow the popular demand is for more and more university education. There has been a tremendous education explosion. All the villages want primary schools. They also want secondary schools. And now in the last seven or eight years rural people want colleges to be established in the rural areas. They want colleges in villages; they are not satisfied with colleges in towns, and you must remember the background of our parliamentary democracy: the biggest vote is the rural vote (the rural vote in the last election was about 115 million out of about 130 million persons voting). There is an enormous demand from the rural areas to be brought up to the level of urban areas in terms of social services. As a planner or as a social scientist, I feel a little apprehensive, for once you release popular expectations and popular demands, and the numbers involved are of such large magnitudes, there will be wide national and also international repercussions and implications.

With respect to agricultural education, we try to give an agricultural bias in our rural schools, but people object to this as some sort of status symbol. This is going to be a great dilemma to the future of the world. In the western countries, over a period of 100 years the proportion of agricultural population has come down from 60-80 per cent to 15-20 per cent; (in England I think it is now about 4 or 5 per cent, and even in France it is down to about 20 per cent as against 50 per cent about 50 years ago). In countries where agriculture is developed, agricultural incomes are very high, either because of high productivity or because they are maintained by subsidies and price supports, which is possible because agriculture is a comparatively small segment of the national production. India has 70 or 72 per cent of its population living on agriculture today, with 45 or 46 per cent of the gross domestic output coming from agriculture.

One major question of social planning is how to keep people in agriculture, how to prevent an enormous exodus to the urban areas. To prevent them from coming to urban areas, we have had many programmes: community development, rural industrialisation, rural industrial estates, basic education, fundamental education. Almost anything that has been tried anywhere is being tried somewhere in some part of India. Yet we have not been able to find an adequate answer.

The second basic problem is how do you deal with this enormous demand for higher education. The United States is a country where every person regards it as his birthright to have a university education. The same thing is happening in India; every person who passes the secondary school wants to come to the university. Something must be done to meet this problem. We are introducing multipurpose schools, we are introducing diversification, we are setting up junior technical schools, junior commercial schools, polytechnical training, industrial training institutes. But the demand for higher education continues unabated. One cannot prevent free expression in India even if one wanted to. One can have dictatorships in very small countries, but in a country of our size, apart from the parliamentary experience and the way in which elections and parliaments have taken hold of people's minds, it is not a practical proposition to prevent free expression. Therefore we ask: how do you deal with this enormous increase in the demand for higher education?

As far as education is concerned, we are trying to solve first the problem of girls' education. More hostels are being built for girls; more scholarships and concessions are being given for girls; and there has been an enormous increase in the proportion of girls going to education institutions.

As far as planning is concerned, we are planning education in conjunction with manpower requirements. We want so many engineers, so many craftsmen, and so on, and we must provide opportunities and invest what is necessary to train such workers. The pace of progress is much beyond resources. Institutions are opened without full staff; new engineering colleges are opened with not more than 40 or 50 per cent of the needed staff, and medical colleges with not more than 60 or 70 per cent of staff. This has a bad effect on quality and standards. It is a vicious circle because we are neither in a position to meet the needs, nor can we say simply "we can't do it." If the people demonstrate, agitate and bring pressure, we have to do something about it.

I have deliberately refrained from talking of all the progress we have made. There is no doubt about the reality of our progress in India, but the problems of equipment and of staffing remain. India's need is not so much for foreign experts to come and make an assessment of what is happening; what we require is equipment. Our lack is in the capital goods sector in education, that is, the need is for the institutions that produce the teachers of teachers. It is there, I think, that effective international assistance should be brought in.

We are also much concerned about pre-school education, before the age of six. Institutions have been set up in different parts of the country, but the number of children going to these pre-school institutions is very small compared with those going to primary schools. Pre-school education is largely non-existent and I wonder how far it is possible to think of international action in this field.

With respect to health, we have, of course, succeeded in eradicating some of the communicable diseases. Our malaria eradication programme has been spectacularly successful; and we have similar programmes to combat smallpox, trachoma, leprosy and tuberculosis. When these are successful, cynics raise

the question of the population explosion and the fact that the *per capita* income has increased by only 16 per cent while the national income has increased by 42 per cent, which happened in the first two five-year plan periods. So when we talk of health programmes in India we are involved also in programmes of family planning. The chief ministers of state, who are normally very practical people, are very much concerned with the increase in population. Some of them think that the problem can be solved very quickly, through crash programmes for family planning and so on. Family planning is a very important part of our health problem; when we speak of family planning programmes we speak also of the health services we are establishing, the maternity centres, the child welfare centres and the primary health centres being set up all over the country.

In social welfare, we have no separate department for children. We recently had quite a big programme for mid-day meals for children, in which UNICEF played an important part. Children are now getting mid-day meals in millions, but we would like to extend the programme to all the children who go to primary schools, both to improve their nutritional status, and to give their parents an added incentive to send their children to school. I would like also to mention the relationship between nutrition and agriculture, between nutrition and animal husbandry, and also the applied nutrition programmes which have recently been started with the help of UNICEF. I am not satisfied in my own mind that merely processing the milk already available is sufficient. Many of the big milk schemes assisted by UNICEF are drawing spectacular admiration both within the country and abroad, but they have resulted in reducing the milk supplies for the rural population while making milk available for the urban population. If we want to improve the nutritional status of our children, we have to think in terms of enormous schemes for increasing the output of animal husbandry products, especially milk. There must also be a big increase in the supply of other proteins, for at present the bulk of the proteins consumed by Indian children comes from pulse.

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

by Mr. P. D. Kulkarni

According to the 1961 census, a little over 173 million out of the total population of 438 million are in the age group birth to fourteen. On the basis of the current definitions of "child" and "young persons," their population would be around 43 per cent. A high growth rate operating on a large population base represents almost a "conspirational combination" of demographic factors affecting planning for children and youth.

The relatively low levels of living in which the majority of Indian children and youth are brought up can be judged by the figures of consumption in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and in terms of the inadequacy of health and educational facilities available to them.

The Constitution of India directs that free compulsory education be provided for all children up to the age of fourteen. It forbids employment

of children below the age of fourteen and directs that the tender age of children should not be abused and that they should be protected against exploitation and moral and material abandonment.

The Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, observed at the beginning of the First Plan period that "ultimately . . . it is the human being that counts, and, if the human being counts, well, he counts much more as a child than as a grown-up. . . . Child welfare should really be considered as of paramount importance in the State's plans."

Child welfare schemes in India are spread over various sectors of the plan, e.g., health, education, labour welfare, social welfare, community development, housing, and town and country planning. Administrative and organisational responsibilities are shared by the central and state governments on the one hand, and the large number of voluntary organisations on the other.

Maternal and child health services have been expanded and modernised under the three plans so as to bring down the rates of infant mortality and maternal mortality. A beginning has been made in introducing a school health service with the implementation of the Third Plan period.

The family planning programme is showing signs of gathering momentum under the Third Plan, but its effects in raising the standards of health and welfare will not be visible for a long time to come.

The main tasks in education at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan were (a) re-orientation of the educational system, and (b) introducing balance and integration in its different stages and branches. By the end of 1966, 80 per cent of the children in the age-group six to eleven would be in schools. The programme of technical education has expanded and diversified during the last twelve years at a remarkable pace. The programme of pre-school education has not been featured in the Government's plans in a big way. In the past, most services for this group were provided by voluntary organisations.

Children of school age outside schools need to have a suitable programme to bring them under some kind of wholesome influence, to protect them against exploitation and to save them from delinquency. Industrial legislation provides that children up to the age of fourteen will not be employed in organised industries and that those above that age are duly protected by safeguards in terms of nature of work and hours of duty.

Starting with maternity and infant health services and institutional services for handicapped children and orphans, the scope of child welfare has now expanded to all services which have a bearing on the full and proper development of children. In the specialised sense, child welfare services have encompassed those services for normal children which are not provided by the established social services like health and education and also services for children in need of special care. The major part of the child welfare programme under the five-year plans has been entrusted to voluntary organisations with government assistance. The state initiative in developing child welfare services has been confined largely to introducing statutory services under the Children Acts and other protective legislation. Planning for child welfare has helped introduce modern, progressive trends and to correct their uneven spread in

different parts of the country. In the context of the diverse growth of child welfare services, the need for an integrated approach to child welfare has been progressively realised.

The following significant trends are discernible in the development of child welfare services in India:

1. Isolated local effort is being dovetailed into a national programme for child welfare.
2. Mere custodial care of children in distress is giving place to a fuller programme of training, after-care and rehabilitation.
3. The preoccupation with curative services is being gradually corrected by emphasis on preventive and positive services.
4. Child welfare services are being considered as part of development plans with a view to building up "human capital."
5. Community services (non-residential) are substantially supplementing the institutionalised services; wherever possible non-institutional alternatives are being explored.
6. Generalised services conducted by lay volunteers are perceptibly being re-organised into specialised services implemented by trained personnel.
7. The sentimental or humanitarian approach is changing into a rational policy in the context of a developing economy.
8. The piece-meal activities dealing with different aspects of child development and welfare are being co-ordinated into a unified programme. It must be clarified, however, that these services are only "straws in the wind" and it will take some time before they are firmly established on an appreciable scale.

High priority for child welfare should be reflected not only in the financial allocations under the successive plans, but also in terms of the quality of the implementing machinery and the minimum standards of performance. Child welfare services must be viewed as an integral part of perspective planning. Children and youth should not be taken out of functional planning under various sectors. What is perhaps wanted is a unified view at the planning level and proper co-ordination at the functional level. Child welfare services should be built up within the wider framework of family and community welfare. Justification for promoting child welfare as a priority programme need not be sought merely in economic terms, but in the context of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

Planned Policy of Improvement of Living Standards for Children and Youth in the Polish People's Republic

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR CZESLAW BOBROWSKI

I would like to justify speaking about Poland in a meeting about the problems of the developing countries. In twenty years Poland went through the stage of under-development, then rapid development at a low level, and

finally development which brought it near the level of the developed countries. This strange course of events was the result of war damage which reduced national production to one-third of the pre-war level, and was accentuated by an enormous loss of professional and middle level personnel. The number of doctors was reduced 45 per cent to 7,000, whereas we now have 30,000. We also had a population explosion, our birth rate going over 30 per 1,000 at one time. Before the war over 60 per cent of the working population was in agriculture. Now we have 60 per cent of our work force outside agriculture, 20 per cent strictly in agriculture, and 20 per cent mixed, with numerous peasant families working outside agriculture. This change was accomplished by increasing the number of jobs available outside agriculture. In 1950, after the first phase of reconstruction of industry, there were 4,000,000 jobs outside agriculture; now there are 8,000,000.

That sets the framework for our national policy for children, which must be a function of available income and the number of children. In the immediate post-war years, at a level of national income very comparable to that of the developing countries, we had to choose priorities in the light of the demographic wave. Universal primary education was instituted straight after liberation, but with less than seven years of schooling. We had to give priority to higher education and already in 1945 the number of students exceeded the pre-war level.

At that time our planning consisted of a choice of priorities, on the basis of good judgment rather than solid data, and often depending more on the possibilities of action than the importance of the need to be met. In English terminology, this may be called a plan, but in the socialist countries, the targets have to be quantified and accompanied by means of implementation for us to use the word "plan."

After 1947/48 our national income increased sufficiently to allow us to begin to follow a policy of planning, to establish proportions systematically.

I share the view expressed in Mr. Singer's paper that services specifically for children such as education and medical care are not necessarily the most important features of the plan in their regard. The distribution of national income is often of decisive importance, and Poland is in this respect one of the most egalitarian countries. The average peasant's income from his small farm is 70 to 75 per cent of the average urban income. If we add the wages earned by peasant families outside agriculture, we reach practically the level of urban incomes. Normally such equality is only reached with very high agricultural productivity; but in our case the peasant benefits from a deliberate policy of egalitarian redistribution of national income. The majority of our children benefit with the peasant, because rural families have more children than urban families. The range of salaries is not wide. For these reasons family allowances are less important with us than in France. The difference in average income between the richest and the poorest province of Poland is only 2:1. This egalitarian income distribution of course changes the structure of consumption, and of the use of productive resources. It also affects the balance of payments, because the general populace consumes fewer imports than the better-off classes.

Price policy has a very important equalising role in socialist countries, and it is very important for the condition of children. For example, milk is subsidised by the state which covers the cost of distribution. Then the sales tax, which in socialist countries is more important than the income tax, is practically nothing on products for children. Our rent policy is also very important from the point of view of children's interests, though economically it has disadvantages. Rent represents only 1 per cent of the Polish family budget; so lodging must be allotted, and this is done on the basis of family size.

I shall not describe our programmes for children and youth because they are set out in the paper. As time goes on, we want to make more of these services available to all, irrespective of income. Schooling after fourteen will be extended to all children in rural areas by the end of our current perspective plan. On the other hand, taking the opinion of the doctors rather than the industrial managers, we do not now expect to extend the services of crèches as far as we did earlier.

Concerning the mechanism of planning, I would like to draw attention to three problems. We consider costs not as data but as a variable that can be changed by policy. For example, in considering our educational problem, we recognised that teachers were the more important cost, and we spread their services by moving only gradually to seven years of primary school. Again, hospital beds being insufficient, and too far away from the villages, we established small maternity centres for which cost limitations are less serious. Again, the majority of our students can find a place in student hostels, but under austerity conditions.

Secondly, the importance of the "shuttle" in our planning is generally underestimated. The first vague sketch of the plan worked out by the Planning Commission passes from the Minister right down to the factory. This stimulates an upward flow of specific projects. The Planning Commission optimises the plan and it goes down, and sometimes up again. The shuttle is a means of popular participation and the plan benefits from information not available to central planners.

My third point concerns the time period of the plan. I am uneasy when a country's first plan is for longer than five years. Of course there are longer time lags—it takes fifteen years to train a trainer—but a period of more than five years introduces too much danger of distortion. Five-year targets can be checked much more easily against reality. We began with a three-year plan. Then we had a series of five-year plans, and now we have a twenty-year plan. If I were beginning again in 1945 as chairman of the planning office, I would do the same again, with one modification. I would prepare certain sketches of the more distant future, but I would not call them a plan or a programme but only working hypotheses.

I believe that \$200 annual national income per head is a sort of threshold for passing from the mere choice of priorities, to a balanced plan in which no necessary activity is missing. But even at the level of \$500 a head, limited means exclude certain choices. Now those who were born in the post-war wave of births are coming into the labour market, and we have to create more jobs rather than extend our services to children and youth.

Should we have special targets covering the problems of children? There is no general answer. A country beginning to plan, even with very small means, can usually fix precise targets in education, related to the necessary resources for implementation. I doubt if similar precision is possible in the field of health, because of lack of data, and we often have to take the instrument as a target rather than the services offered. Each country, within the limits of its resources, should gradually increase the number of targets in its planning. Poland's planning is sufficiently articulated to permit an approach by sector and an approach by problem. At any level of planning, if there are not special chapters concerning children and education, there should be a commentary showing how targets in other fields affect the problem of children, remembering that it is not necessarily the activities labeled for children that have the greatest effect on them.

In fixing targets, the old, laborious, and solid method of material balances, employed for forty years in the USSR, and under that name or another by planners the world over, is irreplaceable. It may be complemented by inter-sectoral tables.

We also use cost/benefit analysis, and I agree with Professor Sauvy that we should quantify things difficult to quantify, even the value of a human life. That may show us that in underestimating social problems we are wasting large economic resources, but it is not a mechanism for decisions. We have also to analyse carefully what are the real social costs in a developing country, for example, the real cost of a direct investment of labour in a country where there is extensive under-employment.

There are very simple methods available from the earliest stages of planning, for example, to remove gross distortions, such as the relation of secondary to primary education described by Mr. Swai of Tanganyika.

A second criterion is to remove obstacles or to fulfil essential preconditions, for future desirable programmes, for example, opening an area for settlement by the removal of an epidemic disease. Refined calculations are hardly useful if we know that the proposed action is a necessary condition for all future progress in that field.

Thirdly, if there are working hypotheses about the future, there are related current targets, even if modest ones. If you want to have industry in fifteen years, it is necessary to be concerned with training now.

Fourthly, there is the "feasibility" test—the possibility of reaching a target. At the beginning of Poland's three-year plan, we had so few practicable choices that we had practically to decide only what was feasible.

Finally, there is the fixing of targets in relation to needs. This is a dangerous method until a certain level of national income is reached. After passing that level, it becomes the basic policy for fixing targets.

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

*by the Social Division of the Planning Commission of the
Polish People's Republic*

GENERAL FEATURES OF PLANNING ECONOMY IN POLAND

A scheme of complex, integrated plans provides an active balance between long-range economic and long-range social development. In the course of carrying out the five-year plans, this scheme, which provides for control of market factors, also influences the short-term balance among individual sectors of the national economy. The social sectors of the economy play a highly important role, as part of the planning scheme, in shaping national development.

While the national plan incorporates sectoral plans, it also summarises the tasks (e.g., in production and service) confronting the economy as a whole as well as the means (e.g., employment, stock supply) available. This summary is based upon calculations of the composition and distribution of the social product of the country. The activities of individual sectors and branches, as well as activities on a regional basis, are integral to the National Economic Plan.

Co-ordination of all activities concerning the elaboration of plans is the task of the Economic Planning Commission of the Minister's Council. In the provinces, districts and administratively independent towns, it is the responsibility of economic planning commissions of praesidia of people's councils.

There is participation at all levels in the planning process. Yearly plans and plans of more than one year are worked out by ministries, provinces and district praesidia of people's economic councils and executive boards of co-operative organisations on the basis of guide-lines provided in the resolutions of the Minister's Council. These guide-lines are of two kinds: some are obligatory (such as the total capital investment to be made during the planned period by a ministry for problems of national importance and by people's councils for provincial or district activities); others serve only as approximate guiding criteria (as for example, the number of children in nurseries, the number of beds to be made available in student quarters and boarding schools, etc.).

To meet the needs of children and youth, planned activities are programmed in the various sectoral plans which are a part of the National Economic Plan, and adequate financial means for this purpose are provided for in the state budget. Budgetary provision for all phases of the plan thus fully guarantees carrying out those aspects of the plan which concern the needs of children and youth. The allocation of resources reflects the co-ordination of various sections of the plan. Economic effectiveness is taken into account in the construction of the plan on the basis of an examination of the costs of production and services.

In the first post-war years the high priority which had to be given to economic reconstruction, and the restricted manpower and other resources available, limited the extent to which it was possible to develop a broad policy for meeting the social needs of children and youth.

In 1948, it was possible for the first time to embrace the entire expenditure in the field of planned social activity, within the framework of the national budget. The policy which has since developed clearly favours the growing generation both by offering them a better starting point in preparation for life, and by according them a greater share than adults in the higher standard of living.

Contributing to this is the growing economic well-being of the family and the special benefit by children and youth in consumption, such as inexpensive or free educational, health and cultural services rendered by the state. (In 1960 those under the age of fifteen constituted about 35 per cent of the Polish population.)

The policy favouring the younger generation is also reflected in investments and other measures affecting the technical training and employment of the rapidly growing number of youth who are in the productive age group. Wage and price policy are also important, including, for example, assistance to families with many children, family bonuses, income tax exemption of lower-paid employees, tax reductions for owners of small farms with many children, low apartment rents, and free or inexpensive social and cultural services.

Planned policy for the benefit of children and youth takes shape in the following categories of state contributions:

(a) Common benefits for all citizens of a given age group, such as eight years of elementary schooling, health care, tourism, physical culture.

(b) Benefits distributed to all in a given age group except for high-income families (for example, space in student hostels and dormitories and summer vacations).

(c) Temporary benefits to be extended to group (b) in the near future and to group (a) in the course of the next fifteen or twenty years such as a great increase in the availability of higher education, and the expansion of secondary and professional education and special schools for crippled or retarded children. (Higher education, now enjoyed by 2.8 per cent of youth in the relevant age categories, will include 5 per cent of the youth in the long-term plan. By 1980, it is expected that about 90 per cent of students from elementary schools will be able to pursue further education.)

PRINCIPLES AND COURSE OF PLANNING THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL SET-UP IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND

The guide-lines determined by the Council of Ministers constitute the basis for working out the economic plans, and the rate for meeting the basic social and cultural requirements of children and youth for the planned period. They take into account the present and future demographic situation, the availability of premises, the number of qualified staff, the costs of the increased social services and, finally, the estimate of economic possibilities of the state.

On the basis of these guide-lines as well as of their own knowledge of

local circumstances or their own intentions, the planning units (ministries, provincial or district people's councils and central offices of co-operative organisations) prepare their economic plans which, in the final stage of the proceedings, are consolidated in the central planning authority's office—the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers—in the form of detailed elaborations for the various ministries, provinces and branches of the national economy. After an analysis, necessary corrections and co-ordination of relevant sectors of economic planning, the projects become a part of the National Economic Plan, subject to approval by the Parliament of the People's Republic of Poland. At the same time the Budget Resolution is passed by the Parliament. This Budget Resolution is a fiscal counterpart of the National Economic Plan.

Representatives of trade unions take part in a consultative capacity in preparing plans of social services. For more complicated problems, research institutions are asked to co-operate with planning authorities.

Most of the problems related to plans for meeting the cultural and social demands of children and youth are the responsibility of the people's councils (provincial, district, town or even community people's councils). The Councils give primary consideration to educational and social welfare services (e.g., crèches, nurseries, schools for general education, vocational schools, boarding school facilities, various forms of health care). Only basic elements of the plan are established by central planning institutions, such as functional ministries. Certain ministries are responsible for co-ordinating the preparation and execution of sectoral plans. The Ministry of Education co-ordinates all educational activities, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare is responsible for the co-ordination of all programmes related to health care of children and youth (e.g., health care in schools).

PLANNING SOCIAL SERVICES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH UP TO 18 YEARS OF AGE

Among various forms of social services relating to the needs of children and youth, a special role is played by such institutions as crèches, nurseries, child or youth recreation facilities, boarding schools, students' hostels, vocational schools, secondary schools. Requirements in these fields are determined separately for services devoted to specific age groups, which are set at 0 to 3 years, 3 to 6 years, 7 to 13 years, and 14 to 18 years.

The number of children of 0 to 2 and 3 to 6 years of age, and estimates of the numbers of working mothers with children who have priority for such services, constitute the starting point for planning to meet requirements for crèche and nursery children. The rate at which these requirements can be met is determined by the availability of new crèches or nurseries (including those housed in premises adapted for that purpose), by the number of supervisory personnel and, finally, by funds available for the current operation of such institutions.

The plan in the field of recreation for children and youth is established by taking into account the number of primary and secondary school students,

the supply of adequate premises and equipment (beds, linen, kitchen facilities), and transportation facilities. Summer holiday programmes are quite popular with industrial plants keen on arranging summer holiday camps for children of their employees (for example, over 70 per cent of all children taken for summer recreation enjoyed holidays arranged by the industrial plants in 1963).

The need for boarding school facilities or students' hostels is estimated in relation to the number of students trained in schools of various types (high schools, vocational schools, colleges) particular attention being paid to young people who are not residents of the locality where the school is situated and who cannot commute to school using public transportation, or who are unable to solve their accommodation problem on their own. It is estimated that places at boarding schools and students' hostels should be provided for (a) 20 to 30 per cent of students of high schools, (b) 35 to 40 per cent of students of vocational schools, and (c) 55 to 60 per cent of students of colleges and universities. Given the number of students in schools and the location of those living a distance from the school they attend, one can estimate requirements for an adequate network of boarding schools or students' hostels.

Special importance is attached to the educational needs of children and youth. This implies giving them school education and training them for their future jobs, as well as preparing them for taking an active part in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the nation.

The essential problems in this field are: complete implementation of compulsory education at primary school level; further training of the largest possible number of primary school graduates at secondary level, especially in vocational schools; and training of the necessary number of college and university graduates.

Vocational training must be in line with long-term prospects of economic growth of various branches of the national economy and social services. The needs in this respect are estimated on the basis of population forecasts, development of production programmed in economic plans (particularly in industry and agriculture), planned development of urban and rural areas as well as progress in socio-economic changes in agriculture.

It is relatively easy to solve the problem of how to determine the number of primary school pupils for whom to plan, since primary school training is compulsory. However, the number of pupils is always larger than the total number of children in the compulsory school age (seven to thirteen), since account must be taken of children who start their school training before they are seven, handicapped children and those who complete their training after they are thirteen. The number of primary school pupils has increased approximately by 7 per cent in Poland from 1960 to 1963.

It is somewhat more difficult to determine the necessary number of teachers, premises and the location of schools; however, there are accepted standards to guide such estimates (for example, number of pupils per year, number of teachers per school year, number of classes per room).

A similar approach is related to the needs of handicapped children. It is estimated that out of the total number of children aged seven to thirteen

approximately 2.5 to 3 per cent are handicapped children. Special schools exist for such children.

The last and perhaps the most significant group of problems involved in the planning of cultural and social activities is related to boys and girls aged from fourteen to seventeen, i.e., adolescents about to enter the productive age group. Nearly all of them are graduates of primary schools; they either continue their education at various types of schools (mostly vocational), stay at their parents' farm or workshop to learn a trade (e.g., children of small farmers or village craftsmen), or get industrial training under an apprenticeship agreement signed directly with a factory or enterprise.

The proportion of primary school graduates going on to vocational schools or general high schools is determined by the estimated demand of skilled workers, secondary school graduates and persons with a college degree.

The plans for training the vocational cadres may be elaborated when the following is known: the demand for trained personnel, the number of children leaving primary schools, the duration of training in given vocations, the quantitative effectiveness of training (numbers of those leaving schools, the school premises available and the increase in the number of teachers).

Activities in post-school hours are the responsibility of the schools. They are related both to the actual school curriculum and to interests in various artistic fields, sports, tourism, etc.

An important part in meeting the needs of the young generation is also played by financial aid granted by the State to school or college students (scholarships, canteens, meals served in primary schools). Requirements of that kind are calculated according to the total number of students.

Medical care of children and adolescents is supplied within the general medical care scheme of the country. Mass vaccinations against tuberculosis, typhoid fever, smallpox, poliomyelitis, etc., constitute a significant contribution to the welfare of children and youth.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL EXPENDITURES

The expenses involved in the implementation of the social programme include capital investment funds and current expenses directly related to cultural and social services rendered to children and adolescents.

Principal capital investment funds are allocated from the State budget and, to a much smaller extent, from the budgets of individual enterprises, trade unions, co-operatives (mostly for summer camp facilities, crèches, kindergartens) as well as from voluntary contributions.

In Poland, the volume of capital investment outlays for social purposes (including the needs of children and adolescents) increased more than 3.8 times in 1961 compared with 1950, on the basis of comparable prices. As an example illustrating the magnitude of the capital investment effort, more primary school classrooms will have been built in Poland in the five-year period 1961-1965 than during the two decades between 1919 and 1939.

Current expenditures in the social field are financed from a variety of sources. The major share of expenditures is made from the State budget or

from that of people's councils. A much smaller portion is financed from the budgets of industrial or other plants, trade unions, social organisations, or from payments made by the parents who reimburse in part the cost of social facilities used by their children. Necessary funds are planned according to obligatory standards (for example, cost of the care of a child in a crèche or in a nursery, cost of teaching at various educational levels, amount of scholarship award).

FINAL REMARKS

The information contained in this paper gives only a general outline of the essential cultural and social requirements of children and adolescents, which appear in the Resolution on the National Economic Plan adopted by the Parliament of the People's Republic of Poland. The data mentioned above demonstrate that the social needs of children and youth increase at a very rapid rate. To satisfy them completely continues to be beyond the current possibilities of Poland's national economy. Many years of activities and experience are required to obtain the right solution to the basic problems of children and youth.

Development Planning Related to the Needs of Children in Tanganyika

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY MR. A. Z. N. SWAI

In introducing his paper on "Development Planning Related to the Needs of Children in Tanganyika," Mr. A. Z. N. Swai referred to the major targets set for realisation in Tanganyika's fifteen-year perspective plan, that is, by 1980. Tanganyika proposed to double the *per capita* income by the expansion of both agricultural and industrial output. The expansion of agriculture will be effected in the traditional sector using improved techniques, but a far greater emphasis will be laid on the expansion of modernised agriculture based on scientific techniques and irrigation, with thousands of trained farmers to be settled in new planned areas each year. However, this transformation of agriculture calls for a new outlook from the people, as well as training in new techniques of agricultural husbandry. The increase in agricultural output will meet the increase in demand at home as well as provide a source of export earnings that Tanganyika shall need to meet its requirements of imports, especially for capital investment. The increased agricultural output will also increase the size of the internal market for industrial goods, thus providing an opportunity to industrialise the country further.

It is also proper that the country should try to capitalise on the multipled effect of the income generated in the agricultural sector by going in for import substitution. A study of the industrial expansion potential has been very promising; at present only 4 per cent of the gross domestic product comes

from the industrial sector—a very small contribution even when compared with other African countries. The development and expansion of agriculture and industry are regarded as complementary. The objective is not only to increase production in the economy, but also to change the structure of the economy with all the social changes that this implies.

The modernisation or transformation of traditional agriculture and the accelerated industrialisation of the country leads logically to the problem of trained and skilled manpower. Hence, the target is to achieve manpower self-sufficiency in all occupations and at all skill levels by 1980. This is naturally linked up with policy on education. Tanganyika intends to achieve this target by maintaining the *status quo* in primary education. This means maintaining the intake in the primary system of at least 50 per cent of the school age children. Expansion of secondary and post-secondary, rather than primary, education has been accorded first call on all resources available for education. This emphasis is based on the assessment of the urgent requirements of manpower to man both the public and the private sectors. The expansion of secondary education also lays the foundation for the future expansion of primary education, and without a vast expansion of the output of locally trained teachers who have completed secondary education, it is not possible to expand primary education. Furthermore, the country's resources are limited and a choice of priorities is, therefore, essential. Overall it is important to bear in mind the fact that the allocation for education in the five-year plan is 24 per cent of total recurrent expenditure and 16 per cent of total capital investment. Other sectors of the economy are also clamouring for urgent attention. To prepare the children for a modernised agricultural and industrial life, more emphasis will be placed on the teaching of science and technology. Secondary schools which have a technical emphasis are being started and other post-secondary institutions are being involved.

In the field of health, the policies in the next five years are to concentrate on the preventive aspect of medicine. Tanganyika intends to give health services in rural areas where 97 per cent of the people live a top priority in order to bring about a balance with the health facilities available in urban areas. It also places great emphasis on the vital importance of rapid and effective work among women by means of community development programmes. It has been training a specialised cadre of women community development workers who will spread the knowledge of mothercraft and housecraft. These programmes are important factors in the improvement of the health, hygiene and nutrition of the family and mothers and children. The above measures, it is hoped, will have the over-all effect of increasing expectancy of life from 38 to 50 years by 1980.

Tanganyika has no specific sector for children in its plan. An estimated 50 per cent of the population is under sixteen years of age and the development plan, directly and indirectly affects the bulk of the population. When Tanganyika speaks of building the nation, it is really building for the child.

NATIONAL INCOME AND THE DEVELOPMENT BUDGET. As a result of vigorous development efforts, an over-all growth rate of 6.9 per cent is envisaged, with a growth rate in the monetary sector of 8.6 per cent. If achieved, this will place Tanganyika among the leaders in efforts to spur rapid development. *Per capita* income is targeted to grow from the 1960-1962 average of £19.9 to the 1970 estimate of over £30.1. The total capital development budget for the five-year period has been set at £100 million from Central Government resources and £10 million from local governments and self-help. The major spending sectors of the Five-Year Development Plan are education, village settlement, housing, feeder road construction and Tanganyika Development Corporation participation in industry.

POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE DATA. The population in 1957 was estimated at 8.6 million; in 1963 the population was assumed to reach 9.6 million. By 1970 it is expected to reach 11.3 million and by 1980, 14.1 million. Approximately one half of the population in 1963 was under 18 years of age. Thanks to preventive health measures, the proportion of child population will rise slightly by 1970.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Nearly all development programmes related to children are covered in the "social development" category. Many programmes, however, such as education, vocational training, community development and housing are both social and economic in their impact. "Human investment" is an important prerequisite for economic development—probably more important to the development process than physical capital. Human factors such as improvement in the skills and organisational capacity, education and health of the labour force have been dominant forces behind output increases.

EDUCATION

PRIORITIES AND CHOICES. To achieve full self-sufficiency in manpower at all skill levels by 1980, skills must be developed in proportion to the increases in the economy resulting from development and also to replace expatriate talent. The Government has retained a large body of expatriate staff until the time when Africans qualify to take up the administrative, professional and technical posts. This policy calls for major choices in education and training in order to hasten the day when the entire economy will be operated by the country's own citizens. On the recommendation of a UNESCO educational mission (1962) top priority has been accorded to expansion of secondary (and higher) education. About 24 per cent of recurrent costs and 15 per cent of total capital investment during the Five-Year Plan will be for education.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION. For secondary education, the Five-Year Plan will provide almost three times the resources available during the current plan. Slightly less than 2 per cent of the appropriate age group is now enrolled in secondary schools. By 1970 the percentage will be about 3.2 per cent. The goals for expansion of secondary and higher education require-

ments are geared to the requirements of the planned economic expansion. Secondary school output is the key to meeting the needs for high-level skills, (e.g., physicians, agronomists, engineers, graduate secondary teachers in science) which require a strong science base in secondary education. The Government has, therefore, moved vigorously to increase the number of science classes in secondary schools. By 1965 the proportion of science to arts pupils in the sixth form should be four to three. The general quality of secondary school students has been adversely affected by two factors: much primary schooling is defective in quality, and a language problem, common to many African and Asian countries, places an added burden on the pupil.

PRIMARY EDUCATION. In order to give priority to secondary education in this plan period, primary enrolment will be kept to approximately its present size. (Only about half of the children in the primary school age group are now enrolled.) This is a hard choice to make, but it is not possible to do everything at once. Besides the limitation of funds, the inadequate supply of teachers restricts the expansion of primary schools. While for secondary schools graduate teachers can be provided through foreign recruitment and foreign technical assistance, this is not possible for primary schools. Also, the Government is reluctant to expand primary education beyond the potential intake of secondary schools and beyond what the developing economy can absorb, particularly in the non-agricultural sector. After eight years of formal education, frustrated in their expectations of continuing into secondary schools with little interest in returning to the family subsistence plot, youths are drawn into the urban areas. Unable to find work, living in urban slums or shantytowns on the outskirts, they constitute a potentially explosive group, peculiarly susceptible to the attractions of crime and political and civil unrest. It must be remembered that in the new African countries less than 5 to 10 per cent of the population is engaged in wage/salary employment, and the transformation cannot be brought about overnight. It will be a major achievement to hold the line on expansion of primary education, for awakening populations have an insatiable demand for education as the key to a new life and a new world.

TECHNICAL TRAINING. Both technicians and "modern" craftsmen (in metals, metal-working machinery, electricity and electrical machinery), require the equivalent of a secondary school education. A technical college has been established, but it gives training chiefly in office skills—typing, clerical, accounting and secretarial. The authorities have undertaken to establish a secondary technical course as preparation for a further two years of training for the building and engineering industries. For the training of craftsmen in modern, as distinct from traditional, craft trades, the Government has established two large trade schools which offer three years of training, but it is felt that ways must be found to attract individuals with higher education and to improve and extend systematic on-the-job training to provide qualified workers in the manufacturing sector. Pay and status inducements must be made more attractive. The Government is launching a vocational guidance programme.

UNIVERSITY AND POST-GRADUATE TRAINING. The East African University plans to expand its faculties to increase the supply of individuals in

occupations for which the most acute need exists. The Government will support this effort through improved occupational labour market information and vocational guidance. It will also offer bursaries to young people for higher training.

HEALTH

During the next five years, the preventive aspects of medicine and rural health services will have top priority. Health services are directed to the entire population. Between one-fourth and one-third of all children die before reaching adult life. In the first five years, malaria is the major threat while pneumonia is probably second. Protein malnutrition, especially after weaning, causes many deaths. Preventive health activities include nutrition education, inoculations and expansion of malaria control. Rural dispensaries will play a key role in advisory services for mothers. By the end of the plan period, there will be one health centre for every 500,000 of the population. The plan calls for one hospital bed for every thousand inhabitants. Several school feeding schemes are carried out on a local or municipal basis and feeding will be expanded as funds become available.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is a major instrument in changing traditional social attitudes retarding development. The community development officers at the village level interpret and explain governmental projects and secure participation and co-operation in constructive community activities. The expansion of basic literacy, generally regarded as a pre-condition for acceptance of new ideas, is a keystone of community development. Community development programmes for women have a significant impact on children, through improvements in family living and in rural productive activity. Women will be encouraged to participate more fully in village activities and in child care, nutrition and handicrafts activities.

YOUTH IN NATIONAL SERVICE

Youth represents a tremendous untapped potential. National Service will strive to inculcate principles of discipline and personal integrity and a sense of patriotic service to the nation. Training will be given in various skills, especially agriculture. Volunteers in the National Service will serve for two years. The farming corps will supply the agricultural labour force for village settlement schemes while the engineering corps will direct its efforts to construction of minor public works. The service will be closely integrated with the village settlement operation. The Ministry of National Culture and Youth has other programmes for youth, encouraging organised sports and promoting such activities as boy scouts, girl guides and other voluntary youth societies.

CHILDREN AND AGRICULTURE

In most tribes children play a positive role in the family agricultural

activities—tending cattle and assisting in ploughing and reaping. Many of the Ministry of Agriculture's expansion plans for the next five years are indirectly related to the needs of children. Production increases are diverted to the increase of exports and also the provision of more and better quality foodstuffs for consumption in the country. A major element in this programme is the expansion of agricultural extension services with the aim of providing an extension officer for each one thousand families. The Five-Year Plan also envisages the training of young men in modern agricultural techniques to enable them to be better farmers. Several large-scale settlement schemes will open up new land for prospective settlers.

Planning for the Needs of Children and Youth in Tunisia

STATEMENT BY MR. AHMED BEN SALAH

You know that Tunisia became independent only a few years ago, and we had to face all our many-sided problems at once. So we needed to act comprehensively in all fields, and many of those general policies were important for children and youth. We have tried to reach gradually a certain coherence in our policy in both the economic and social fields, though I hope we shall agree one day to drop this absurd and outdated division into economic and social.

As in many other countries, independence meant for our people a magic wand that would bring immediate prosperity, liberty, democracy and happiness, and these ideas were particularly disturbing to our youth. So we first tried to convince everybody that independence meant much more work. But then we had to provide work, and we started the experiment of workshops for the fight against under-development (*chantiers de lutte contre le sous-développement*). Generally, they worked on the agricultural infrastructure, and they had to accept any citizen who wanted work, of course at wages no better than those of agricultural labourers. But they succeeded in demonstrating the necessity of working, and they gave a little more income to needy families.

Another general action with direct effects on our children was legislation on the status of women (*statut personnel de la femme*), which proclaimed the equality of man and woman, and forbade polygamy and divorce at the sole will of the husband.

We also tried to inculcate a sense of responsibility about births, without undertaking a birth control campaign. We tried to convince parents that by using knowledge and perhaps certain drugs, they are free to give birth or not to give birth to a child. The decision to have a child is not commonplace, but has consequences for the child, and for society.

Contributing to the creation of a new family environment were adult literacy campaigns, people's clubs, cultural clubs, the mobile cinema, and of course popular housing. We have even allowed a reform of children's patro-

nymic names: a child whose name meant Muhammed Cucumber felt at a disadvantage beside a boy who had an important name. Economists and planners will be more interested in the fact that our G.N.P. rose by 12 per cent in the first year of our three-year plan.

I now pass to matters concerning children and youth more specifically, beginning with education. Tunisia opted for universal primary education, which was to be reached before 1968, and will be reached, in fact, in 1966. We saw that the population was spontaneously building schools, and for organisational reasons the state had to take that over. We revised the teaching programme, reduced primary schooling from seven to six years, and decided to give only three hours of schooling a day, in shifts, during the first two years. These two steps have helped us to more than double the number of children in school. We also started middle schools, because of our concern to give a chance to all aptitudes, and because of an economic necessity to train middle-level personnel for industry, administration and agriculture.

We have not tried simply to provide education to children. We have tried to make them more capable of following their normal schooling. With the help of UNICEF and other organisations, we have extended tenfold a school-meal programme. We are also concerned with their moral and social upbringing. We are experimenting with school co-operatives to widen their horizons.

The public health network that had been built up over several decades has been doubled in three and one-half years. We have started special services for children by providing paediatric wards, MCH centres, a children's hospital, and a TB children's hospital. Great emphasis has been put on health education. We have trained girls to teach very elementary things to village mothers: how to nurse the child, how to bathe him, how to prepare his bed, how to comb his hair, etc. We also used health educators to improve nutrition. We had success in spreading the use of fish further in from the coast, and also the consumption of oranges.

For abandoned children, several "Bourghiba villages" have been established which educate and train nearly 6,000 children, and adoption laws have been passed. Sport has become a compulsory activity in school, and sport has greatly extended among our youth.

Education, family health, and mother and child services cost the state more than one-third of its recurring budget. But more than 40 per cent of our population is under age fourteen. Education alone takes more than 25 per cent of the budget.

The Development Plan has been the main instrument for bringing the necessary coherence into this work, and it contains many pages on the problems of education, culture, youth, sport, and the advancement of women. Precise actions on these subjects are integrated into our plan, and we intend to continue in this "economic error" in our second plan.

The Ministry of the Plan and of the Treasury is combined, which helps keep planning and financial resources together. We have in the Department of the Plan and of the Treasury, a Division of Cultures and Social Affairs which co-ordinates the actions of the different departments concerned with children and youth, i.e., Education, Public Health, Labour, Youth and Sport.

A few words on how we elaborate our plan. The first time, we arranged "the week of the plan" during which all the country's leaders, both from the Government and from the political party, went through all the provinces attending meetings where thousands of citizens heard about the planning targets. Then we prepared a draft perspective plan for ten years which was circulated through the country and discussed in the political party, in all the trade unions, in the youth organisations and professional organisations, discussions which were brought together in regional councils. In the preparation of the second plan which will start in 1965, there is a decree laying down a similar form of popular consultation. All that, it seems, is not entirely orthodox, but we have adopted a fundamental premise that all the economic projects mean nothing if there are not the men properly trained, both morally and technically, to run them. Development should transform society and should give citizens all types of broadening experience, including political experience. Real democracy allows the new generation to grow up without any ideological, technical, economic or other kind of blockage.

Banks and other institutions with capital generally invest only according to economic norms developed in countries where the basic necessities have already been met. This point of view constitutes a real brake on the development of the new countries. Not that we want to run too many risks, but we do want to invest in the advancement of man.

There is one aspect of the problem not raised in the agenda which could be related to our hope that the well-off countries will come to understand our need. Are we sure that the children and youth of the developed countries are receiving the right orientation and training? I would like to see another conference in which the representatives of the so-called under-developed countries could explain their anxiety in face of the moral, spiritual, economic and social conduct of the developed countries toward their children.

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

by the Government of Tunisia

In Tunisia, as in all young countries anxious both to improve their economic and social condition and to free themselves from the vestiges of colonial rule, the need for planning became apparent immediately after independence. While setting economic goals, planning in Tunisia at the same time gave much attention to the social sector and especially to the needs in childhood and youth.

In 1961 a Decennial Programme (1962-1971) and a Triennial Plan covering the first three years (1962-1964) of the programme were worked out. The State Secretariat for Planning and Financing was responsible for drawing up the Plan, for supervising it and for carrying it out in some economic sectors. There are a number of technical divisions in this department and they were regrouped in 1963 with a view to better adaptation to their tasks and to greater efficiency. One of these divisions specialises in social questions and training problems.

The various specialised State Secretariats have the duty of carrying out the Plan in detail. Four technical departments are concerned with the various problems of childhood and youth, namely: State Secretariat for National Education, State Secretariat for Cultural Affairs, State Secretariat for Public Health and Social Affairs, and Directorate of Youth and Sports.

The Tunisian Government brings the big national organisations—Néo-Destour, General Union of Tunisian Workers, Women's Union, Students' Union, etc., as well as very varied representatives of the people—into both the conception and the execution of the Plan.

The basic aims of the Decennial Programme are as follows: decolonisation, improvement of the lot of mankind (especially by raising the standard of living and by training), structural reforms, and self-development.

There are quantitative aims deriving from these leading objectives, such as increasing the gross national product by 6 per cent a year, raising the rate of savings (to 20 per cent of the gross national product in the last year), and limiting the external deficit to 50 per cent of new investments.

The total investment required for the first steps under the Triennial Plan is 280 million dinars, to be divided among the big sectors. The expected investment for the ten-year period will be 896 million dinars. Funds for these investments will come from two sources: national resources and external resources.

The population of Tunisia has two dominant features: great variation from region to region in density per square kilometre, and youth of the people. The birth rate was 42.1 per thousand inhabitants in 1960, the fertility rate in women from 15 to 49 years of age 19 per cent, and the mortality rate between 20 and 25 per cent.

The most frequent causes of death among young people under fifteen are bronchial pneumonia in winter and toxico-sis in summer.

The population is divided into sectors of activity as follows: agricultural sector—68 per cent; industrial sector—10 per cent; and services—22 per cent.

Twenty-eight thousand new jobs a year would have to be created to absorb people coming of working age. In order to achieve a better social balance, the Programme envisages:

(a) A decline in the agricultural population from 70 per cent in 1957 to 35 per cent in 1971.

(b) An increase in the income of both rural and urban populations to a minimum of 45 dinars a year per head by 1971 and to 50 dinars in 1974.

(c) Full employment of 400,000 persons in the agricultural sector by 1971.

Transitional measures, such as setting up workshops to combat under-development and to encourage family handicrafts, are contemplated before the realisation of full employment.

In a country where more than 40 per cent of the population is under 15 years of age, the national effort is naturally directed towards improvement of the lot of youth. Problems of childhood and youth are consequently integrated in the Plan. Several ministerial departments have the task of carrying out the

measures contemplated, and co-ordination between them is ensured by the State Secretariat for Planning and Financing and by certain special liaison organs. The Government is very concerned about the material and moral needs of children of various ages and deals with them not according to a fixed plan but according to their urgency. However, population growth is one of the predominant preoccupations of the responsible authorities in so far as it will determine the success or failure of the Plan. Family planning measures are in process.

The aspects of the Plan which are most concerned with the welfare of childhood and youth are: education, specialised training and professional training; health; leisure and youth organisations; and the campaign against illiteracy.

Mindful of population growth, the Tunisian Government is aiming at basic education for all by 1966. Educational programmes have been recast and adapted to modern educational ideas, to the nation's need of various technical cadres and to the variety of individual aptitudes. The Decennial Programme makes provision for development in each grade of teaching and fixes the total investment needed because of the required increase in staff. At the same time, specialised training has been provided to ensure useful readjustment of certain pupils and to meet the need of very specialised cadres in agricultural education, public health schools, a school for technical personnel and assistants, a secretarial and accountancy school, a school for aeronautics, etc. The professional training essential to a developing economy has been re-organised. So far as youth is concerned, it covers apprenticeship and professional training, properly so called, of adolescents in professional training centres.

Protection of the health of children and youths covers very varied fields:

1. Specialised maternity centres have been created and the number of maternity beds in the hospitals has been increased in order to meet the health needs of pregnant women and to train mothers in child-upbringing.

2. A new preventive organisation, in the form of mother and child welfare centres, was created in 1959.

3. To meet the needs of nursing infants and children of pre-school age, the number of paediatric beds has been increased and some services have been given specialised paediatric training.

4. The mother and child welfare centres, for their part, have developed a policy of preventive medicine.

5. A series of steps, such as the creation of reception centres and reform of the laws on adoption, have helped to improve the lot of abandoned children.

6. Measures are also contemplated to ensure the care of pre-school children of working mothers. A network of kindergartens is being formed.

7. Finally, a school and university health service looks after the medical supervision of children and adolescents of school age. Nutritional problems are carefully studied.

Many practical steps are being taken in connexion with these varied health activities. But the needs, both in medical staff and in materials, are very great.

Laws dating from 1960 and 1961 have resulted in a complete policy for the creation of institutions concerned with the leisure of youth. The planned

programme for youth includes the creation of youth houses, youth training centres and youth hostels. The programme for children provides for children's houses for deserted children, grouped together in villages. These are the Bourghiba children's villages. The planned programme for sports has the dual aim of restoring and modernising existing installations and building a new and adequate infrastructure. The National Institute for Sports plays the chief part in stimulating sporting activities. Finally, community activities are encouraged in the youth houses and hostels, vacation colonies and so on.

In addition to its basic purpose of educating adults, the campaign against illiteracy aims at salvaging adolescents who for one reason or another (inadequacy of the old teaching system, lack of education for all) have not had a basic education. A complete policy has been formulated for the training of specialised teachers, for bringing teaching material up to date and for statistical computation of the number of illiterates, and many parts of the policy are already being put into practice.

One of the principles underlying Tunisian planning is that social action, especially on behalf of children and youth, must be carried out alongside economic action. The underlying investment in the early years of life, on intellectual and moral as well as the physical and material planes, is an essential prerequisite of economic and social progress.

Satisfaction of Children's Needs in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR M. J. STUDENIKIN

I am speaking as the representative of a country whose motto is that "The best should be for the children," and I think this motto would be very appropriate for this conference. Children make up the riches, the power, and the future of a country, and that is why the question of their future should interest all of us. All children, whatever their race and their sex, have the same rights to be protected, to be educated, to be trained to become useful members of society. Unfortunately, this is not everywhere the case, and the situation of children is far from being as satisfactory as we would all wish.

We are going to try to make a synthesis of experience in this field in different countries in order to draw conclusions which could be applied according to the different economic, political, and social situations in different countries. Obviously, it is not possible to apply directly the experience of one country to all others, but nevertheless we may learn from them and that is why I was asked to make a report on the situation of children in the Soviet Union.

The main needs of children as we see them relate to health, education, and up-bringing. The Soviet Union has succeeded in a relatively short time in transforming from an essentially agricultural country into a highly industrialised and developed country, from a scientific and technical point of view. Our report begins by showing what was the situation of children before the

1917 Revolution. Morbidity and infant mortality were very high. To be specific, out of every 1,000 infants born, 273 died at an early age. Eighty per cent of the children were illiterate; education was given only in the Russian language, although our country has sixty nationalities.

The experience of the Soviet Government in the field of service to children at different stages of development of the country has been a rich one. I draw attention to only two of the facts given in the report. First, the index of infant mortality has gone down more than ninefold. In 1963, only 30 infants out of every 1,000 died during the first year. Second, compulsory education has been introduced all over the country and it lasts eight years. In addition, technical and pre-professional, secondary schools have been set up for specialised education. Teaching is now given in sixty-one different languages. So, much has been done to facilitate the birth of the child, his development and his education.

How may the needs of children be successfully met? First, the care of children is the responsibility of the family and the government, whatever the form of the government. The social organisations should be auxiliaries of the government. Second, it is necessary to set up a separate system of maternal and child welfare which is responsible to a special ministry, in our case the Preventive and Curative Medical Services. Third, there needs to be a state education system.

The government must take a census of children in different age groups, and the diseases of children should be studied systematically. Planning is necessary at the pre-school stage as well as at school age. Without planning, the needs of children cannot be met. All aspects of the plan concerning children should have the force of law in the country. Planning is also a means of spreading national resources over all parts of the country and preventing certain regions from being backward in comparison to others.

Co-ordination is necessary among the different ministries and services concerned with children's problems, and with us it is done by part of the state planning organisation.

Our experience has allowed us to minimise the harmful effects of urbanisation and industrialisation. Parallel with the creation of an industry, it is necessary to build houses, schools, hospitals and institutions for pre-school children. Strict health control of industrial organisations is needed to safeguard the health of families and especially children. Thus, the needs of children can be met only by governmental measures. We have a very strict system for meeting the needs of children and if we had to begin over again, we would do the same thing.

It was above all in the earlier stages that we met the greatest difficulties because we lacked financial means and also specialised personnel in the fields of health and education. Furthermore, we received help from nobody; on the contrary, there was warfare in our country during our first years.

Now we are making a study of the needs of children in a new stage of development of our country. Sizeable financial credits are allocated to social measures for children, in fact, more than 30 per cent of the annual budget.

In conclusion, I would like to underline again, it is not possible to extend

the experience of one country to others, but I still think the experience of each country could be used by other countries, obviously by adapting it to the situation in each country, its economic development and its form of government.

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

by Professor M. J. Studenikin

To bring happiness to children is our common objective. Regardless of race, sex, nationality and social standing, all children in the world must enjoy equal rights. The child must be protected against exploitation, from harmful labour and against any kind of discrimination.

In discussing the needs of children in economic and social planning, it is useful to observe the experience of other countries with respect to the services to children at different stages of development. The USSR is the first country to engage systematically in planning economic and social development, with special attention to manpower resources.

The new Soviet State was endowed with an extremely difficult heritage in terms of the hard conditions of life for the working people, lack of care for pregnant women, mothers and children and an extremely low social standard, resulting in colossal child mortality. In 1913, 273 infants died in the first year out of 1,000 born alive (three to four times the rate of Western European countries). Child health services were poor. Children's hospitals existed only in big towns and there were few of these. Public health was not centralised and the various departments were not co-ordinated.

A state system of maternal and child health protection services was established in the first days of Soviet power. In December 1917 a Department for Maternity and Childhood Protection was set up. Child and maternal care establishments were opened on a mass scale. Homes for unmarried mothers with workshops attached and mother and child homes came into being. A network of nurseries began to operate. Qualified medical specialists were enlisted in the work of mother and child health protection institutions. In 1918 special courses were opened for improvement of paediatric knowledge of physicians engaged in medical services for children. Training courses began in many towns. In 1919 courses were opened in Moscow for instructors-organisers engaged in maternal and child health services in local councils. Institutes for the protection of mothers and children were created in many cities. Two paediatric journals appeared.

Despite the economic devastation and misery of war, the network of child health establishments continued to grow. Mother and child health was the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Government. In the period of industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture, with masses of women involved in industry, great care was taken to improve the living conditions of women.

On 27 June, 1936, the Government issued a decree on prohibition of artificial abortions, increase of maternity benefits, extension of the network of

maternity hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens. For the first time state support of mothers with many children was fixed. By 1941, considerable improvements had been made in children's health and in their physical and mental development, and child mortality decreased more than two times as compared with 1919. After the Second World War, it took nearly five years to restore maternal and child services to the pre-war level.

The satisfaction of mothers' and children's needs has been an important objective of the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans, and the Sixth Plan (1956-60) calls for further developments in this area. Great progress is shown by the statistics on increased health facilities: hospital beds for children and mothers, the number of paediatricians and the number of child health centres and pre-natal clinics. Medical care is provided for children even in the most backward regions of pre-revolutionary Russia. Systematic measures for improving the health of women and children have resulted in a sharp decrease of mortality and morbidity among children and a high birth-rate. The death-rate of children in the Soviet Union decreased more than 8.5 times as compared with 1913.

THE SYSTEM OF HEALTH SERVICES FOR CHILDREN. In the Soviet Union it is set up along the following lines. Preventive medicine has a high priority. Health and medical services are free to all. The maternal and child health system protects the child's life beginning with the development of the embryo. Adequate pre-natal and post-natal care are assured. Working mothers are granted special maternity leave and their working conditions are controlled. The medical protection of mothers and children, which begins in the pre-natal clinics, is continued in the maternity hospitals where mothers and new-born babies are provided with skilled medical attention. All deliveries are attended by skilled personnel. Child consulting centres give both preventive and curative services to the child from birth up to the age of fifteen. Regular check-ups and inoculations are made. Children in need of special treatment are hospitalised in children's hospitals or in the children's departments of general hospitals. When babies are hospitalised nursing mothers are allowed in daytime to be at their beds and are given free meals.

If the mother's breast milk is insufficient the baby receives donors' milk through child consulting centres. Milk kitchens are available in the district for providing rational feeding of children.

Strong emphasis is put on the organisation of school medical services, primarily sanitation and preventive measures. All children undergo thorough medical examinations before entering school. Special school paediatricians and medical nurses serve in child consulting centres. The administrative and teaching staff collaborate in the promotion of sanitation, health and nutrition. A school paediatrician conducts thorough health examinations of all children annually. Free treatment is provided in children's sanatoria for pulmonary, vascular and nervous diseases, for physically weak children and those suffering from residual poliomyelitis. The sanatoria have educational staff for both school age and pre-school children.

Facilities for daytime care of pre-school and school children include a

broad network of nurseries, kindergartens, boarding schools and pioneer summer camps. Out-of-city crèches and kindergartens serve upward of 3 million children in the summertime in addition to permanent daytime care institutions. In the summer of 1962 over 95 million children and teenagers spent the holidays at Young Pioneer and school camps, children's sanatoria, hiking and travelling centres, and out-of-city crèches, kindergartens and children's homes.

Of the eighty medical training institutes in the Soviet Union, twenty-nine have special paediatric facilities. In addition, there are four medical faculties in the universities and the Institute of Paediatrics. By 1960, there were 24,834 medical students at the faculties of paediatrics. There are eleven institutes for advanced and specialised training of physicians.

Children under the age of sixteen are not permitted to work, and teenagers are forbidden to work in certain jobs involving health risks. For young persons the working day is shorter than for adults and they have longer holidays. Working youths are protected by strict medical examinations and by preventive health measures.

Eradication of many diseases, reduction of morbidity, a sharp drop in child mortality and other indicators of progress in child health achieved in a short period of time have proven the advantages of the system of maternal and child health services in the USSR. Such services are directed by the Department of Medical and Prophylactic Aid to Children and Mothers of the Ministry of Health of the USSR. Such departments exist also in all Union Republics. Irrespective of the social system and form of government, a country truly interested in meeting children's needs must first of all organise a special system of maternal and child health services.

EDUCATION. Since the first years of Soviet power, the Communist Party and the Government considered it their immediate task to introduce free universal compulsory education. By 1934 the problem of primary universal education was solved and seven-year education for children was introduced in cities and towns. Next, universal compulsory secondary education was introduced in cities and towns and seven-year education in rural areas. In 1960 the Congress of the Communist Party took further steps to expand compulsory education. Now all children attend schools and the USSR has become the country of universal literacy. Lessons are conducted in sixty-one languages. Educational opportunities are ensured by the wide development of secondary, general, polytechnical, vocational and special training, a system of free education and scholarships. Great emphasis is put on the expansion of evening and correspondence courses and mother-tongue education in the schools. In 1962 there were 197,600 schools in the country with 38.5 million children enrolled; over 2 million studied in boarding schools. Efforts are being made to develop comprehensive vocational training for industrial and agricultural production. The economic development of the country and the upbringing of a new generation are considered to be a single process without which further progress of the society is not possible. The Gomsomol and pioneer organisations (each with 20 million children) are of great importance in the education of children and youth, educating them in the spirit of patriotism, brotherhood and friendship

and teaching them to be honest, polite, neat and careful. Recreation, artistic and musical education and other creative activities are promoted by many institutions, including more than 2,000 music, art and ballet schools at the disposal of children.

In 1961 books for children were published in seventy languages, and forty-nine children's magazines and twenty-four pioneer papers were issued. There are 185,000 secondary school libraries in the USSR and over 5,000 children's libraries. Special films are produced and children have theatres of their own.

INTEGRATED PLANNING. Planning to meet children's needs is an integral part of the state economic plan. The economic and social achievements in the USSR and the improvement of living standards create the necessary basis for meeting more completely the needs of children. Health services plans for children are drawn up by the Ministry of Health. Educational plans are formulated by the Ministries of Education, Culture and others accordingly. The plans are based on precise knowledge of children in respective age groups, the data being available from a system of state accounts and statistics. Such data are essential for the planning of schools, children's hospitals and health centres, for expanding the construction of nurseries and kindergartens and for planning the output of shoes, clothes, various manuals and aids, toys, etc. Examples are given in the full report of the calculations which go into planning to meet the needs for hospital care, clinical services and education at the various levels and throughout the entire country.¹

To avoid the harmful effects of urbanisation and industrialisation, schools, apartments, nurseries, kindergartens, child health centres and hospitals are constructed or expanded to keep pace with the expansion of industry. Health departments take an active part in city planning, banning the construction of an enterprise which may be dangerous to health and supervising the implementation of health standards.

CONCLUSION

The experience of the Soviet Union in meeting the needs of children in a country formerly backward and at present a powerful industrial state can be useful for many nations interested in improving the condition of children. This experience serves to highlight the following conditions for the over-all satisfaction of children's needs:

1. Irrespective of the political system, the care of children should be the responsibility of the State.
2. The needs of children call for establishment of maternal and child services with a network of medical and prophylactic institutions as an integrated part of the public health system.
3. Planning for children should be part of the national development plan and its execution should be a law for each ministry and department.
4. To avoid harmful effects of urbanisation and industrialisation it is essential:

(a) To construct apartments, schools, child hospitals, health centres,

nurseries and kindergartens in line with plans for industrial and urban development.

(b) To maintain strict health and sanitary inspection of industrial enterprises.

(c) To protect children and adolescents in employment through appropriate legislation and constant medical control.

United States Experience in Planning and Providing for the Needs of Children and Youth

STATEMENT BY DEAN CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND

The United States is still a growing country with an expanding economy, and its population is increasing very rapidly, having doubled in the last fifty years. Its child population is increasing even more rapidly than the general population, necessitating a reappraisal of the entire educational programme for children and a tremendous school expansion. There is a great mobility in population as millions of persons move from one part of the country to another. A particularly serious situation developed in the last ten years and stems from automation; with many persons being displaced who are unskilled, the United States now has problems of retraining and reintegrating the displaced workers into our expanding economy. This is a particularly important problem for youth coming into the labour market. These, and a host of other problems, are similar to those faced by many other countries all over the world.

This changing scene has called forth a prodigious array of governmental and voluntary planning efforts aimed at improving the health, welfare and education of America's 70 million children. Social security programmes now provide income for more than 2½ million children where one of the parents has died. The political system of the United States places basic responsibility for many of the problems of children upon the fifty States. These States have the responsibility for domestic relations, for parent child relations, for the basic education of children, and for a variety of health and welfare services, including the care of children away from their own homes and their adoption.

In the United States a partnership has been developed between government and voluntary agencies which is characteristic of the country's approach to its social measures. There is no over all national plan for children. Rather it is the totality of the plans of Federal, State and local Governments combined with those of private organisations that constitutes America's planning effort for our children. This planning is characterised by widespread citizen participation.

By 1985 the United States will have a population of close to 300 million people, including more than 100 million children, if the birth rate continues high. An interesting aspect of this is that the number of children per family is increasing. An analysis of infant mortality rates indicates the geographic

areas and economic groups where the rates are still high and require special measures. As another illustration of demographic facts which can influence planning, the number of workers in agriculture continues to go down, showing the increasing need to train youths for non-agricultural pursuits. The large increase in the number of children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools, reflecting the very high birth rate following World War II, presents an enormous future problem for higher education. The number of students in colleges and universities which at present is over 4 million is expected to reach 7 million by 1970. At the same time there is expected to be a large increase of workers under the age of twenty-five: some 6.5 million more in the period 1960-1970 as compared to the previous decade.

Although the basic problems of planning for children are State problems in the United States, nevertheless, increasingly, the Federal Government is involved in planning. At present there are some thirty-eight federal agencies involved in programmes for children. Two important aspects of federal planning are fact finding and co-ordination. The United States Children's Bureau was established with the idea in the minds of many of its original founders that all planning for children at the Federal Government level would be handled by the Bureau. This has proved impractical and the various sectoral programmes in health, education and welfare have developed their own planning. Nevertheless, the Children's Bureau has remained as a sort of watchdog on behalf of children, promoting programmes which are carried out by others, investigating and reporting upon all aspects of child life and therefore acting as a catalytic agent in the promotion of programmes by a variety of other agencies. In addition the Bureau administers grants to States for maternal and child health, crippled children, and a variety of child welfare services.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, which is composed of the thirty-eight federal agencies, meets regularly and provides a co-ordinating mechanism for all of the Federal Government planning for children, attempting, not always with complete success, to iron out the usual problems of jurisdiction among agencies.

Once in every ten years the President of the United States calls a White House Conference on Children. This is a device to bring together government officials, voluntary organisations and citizens into a huge meeting, usually 5,000 or 6,000 people, to discuss for a solid week the problems of children in the United States. Out of this conference have come recommendations which have led to important legislation by the National Congress and by State Legislatures as well as programmes by voluntary agencies. For four or five years after each conference there is a follow-up mechanism and, as a result, there has been sustained interest in children's problems. Two or three years before the conference starts there are established state-wide committees in every State to plan for the next conference. This one device has thus been a very important mechanism in maintaining interest in children and children's planning.

More and more planning responsibilities are being undertaken by the Bureau of the Budget in the office of the President and there is considerable discussion of developing more direct planning functions in the Bureau rather

than the indirect planning which goes with its authority to control expenditures.

The major department of the Federal Government concerned with children is the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This is the newest of the departments, but one of the very largest, including the United States Public Health Service, the Office of Education, the Social Security Administration, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration and the Welfare Administration. The latter includes a Bureau of Family Services, an Office of Aging, the Children's Bureau and the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

Planning takes place in the United States through four major mechanisms. First, there is planning within the sectoral programmes; second, there are a variety of interdepartmental committees at federal, state and local levels; third, there are a variety of governmental/voluntary agency relationships emphasising the partnership between government and voluntary agencies. Finally there are a number of agencies, both public and voluntary, specifically functioning as planning agencies at local, state and federal levels.

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

*by Mrs. Frances Cahn, Consultant, Welfare Administration,
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare*

No investment the United States can make holds greater hope for the future than the effort spent on the programmes established in order that children and young people may develop into responsible citizens.

The United States has a fast-changing and expanding economy. Its population is increasing rapidly. At the end of 1962, it reached 188 million, and indications are that it will exceed 200 million by 1970. Its industrial complex is shifting as automation replaces the simpler developments of an earlier industrial age. Its population is mobile and moving in substantial numbers from one section of the country to another as evidenced by the fact that one out of five persons changes his residence each year.

With these swift developments, a prodigious array of governmental and voluntary planning efforts is aimed at increasing the health, welfare, and education of America's 70 million children.

This partnership of government and voluntary agencies is characteristic of this country's approach to its social needs. There is no over-all national plan for children and young people; rather, it is the totality of federal, state, and local governments combined with private organisations which constitutes America's planning efforts.

In this country, evolving concerns have determined our course. Planning has undergone many phases and reflects economic and political conditions, social and individual pressures, and the philosophy of the American people at a given period. It involves selectivity in terms of priorities established under criteria that include timeliness and manageability of programmes, and the realisation that no single issue can be treated as an isolated entity.

One of the important components of planning is efforts directed toward co-ordination and co-operation. As examples: The White House Conferences on Children and Youth called by the Presidents of the United States each decade since 1909 illustrate co-operative efforts on the part of Government, voluntary organisations, and citizen groups concerned with the well-being of young people. They have focused on problems, stimulated programmes, and encouraged action on state and local levels. Similarly, the White House Conference on Education held in 1955 crystalised thinking on many facets of the nation's elementary and secondary schools.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, composed of thirty-eight agencies of the Federal Government, works to the end that the activities of these agencies may reinforce each other. This is just one example of many committees that provide horizontal liaison among federal agencies. Others include the Federal Council of Science, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, the Recreation Advisory Council, and the Interagency Committee on Migrants.

Equally important in terms of planning is the extensive use made of citizen and professional advisory committees by the Federal Government. National voluntary organisations as well as agencies on the State and local level also play a key role in encouraging co-operation and co-ordination. On all levels—national, state, and local—planning efforts are sparked by over 50 million volunteers who, through their leadership, enrich services, strengthen interagency relationships and shape basic policy.

In the United States, with its strong emphasis upon the family as the basic unit of society, conserving the values of the home is of major importance. Parents have the prime responsibility for their children's development and welfare, but over the years it has been found necessary to assist them through national, state, and local efforts. Hence, in 1964, this country has a broad spectrum of programmes designed to help maintain and strengthen family life, improve health services, expand housing facilities, increase employment opportunities for youth, provide education for all young people, and make available basic economic security.

No other single piece of social legislation concerned with domestic policy has been more far-reaching in its effects than the Social Security Act enacted in 1935 and its subsequent liberalising amendments. In terms of a national policy, the Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Programme is one of family security. As of July 1963, monthly benefits were paid to 2.5 million children under eighteen and to 450,000 widowed mothers.

Other young people in the United States need assistance because, due to a parent's prolonged illness, unemployment, or absence from home, they lack basic necessities for minimum decency and health. The United States, through its Aid to Families with Dependent Children Programme, reflects the American belief that strong family life benefits every child. Hence, through financial assistance, medical care, and social services, needy children are helped to develop normally in spite of conditions beyond their control. Today, 4 out of 100 American young people under eighteen depend upon federally-aided state programmes of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Federal funds are also allocated for child welfare services which are provided by state and local agencies. These encompass troubled children and children in trouble. As of 1962, well over 400,000 young people were receiving such services.

As part of America's over-all effort, a network of health services exists to protect and safeguard the health of children. Progress is reflected in the decrease of mortality rates. By 1962, the infant mortality rate had dropped to 25.3 per 1,000 from 131.8 per 1,000 in 1910. For the same year, deaths of young people (1 to 24) had decreased to 0.7 per 1,000. These decreases are paralleled by an increase in various services, such as maternity and paediatric hospitals, child and school health clinics, services for crippled children, diagnostic clinics for the mentally retarded, immunisations, visiting nurse programmes, sanitary precautions, emphasis on adequate nutrition, and great advances in medical science.

Vocational rehabilitation for physically and mentally handicapped young persons is important. The Federal Government makes grants to States for this purpose and in 1963, 22,000 persons under twenty years of age were rehabilitated.

Equally as basic as any other service are programmes directed toward the environment within which the family lives. Broad scale federal endeavours in the housing field were initiated in 1932 and, subsequently, United States programmes have increasingly reflected the recognition that good homes go hand in hand with planning for community needs. Today, well over 1 million children live in the 547,500 low-rent public dwelling units built and managed by local housing authorities. In addition, mortgage insurance programmes have played a major role in providing a more adequate housing supply for families with children.

Automation, mechanisation and scientific gains call for greater skills, more experience, and a higher degree of training for young people than ever before. Youth unemployment is high. About one in six of all the unemployed who are out of school are sixteen to twenty-one year olds, although this age group makes up only one in fourteen of the nation's labour force. Hence, one of the important factors in our changing society is the significant need of educating each child to his highest academic and employment potential.

The United States has made great strides in providing universal elementary and secondary education for its citizens. While provisions differ from one state to another, free public education is available to all, and school attendance is compulsory between the ages of seven and sixteen. As of 1963, 46.7 million pupils were enrolled in public and private elementary and secondary schools. Approximately two-thirds of young people graduate from high school and in 1963, 38.9 per cent of those between eighteen and twenty-one were enrolled in colleges and universities. Vocational education is an integral part of the total educational system in America, and today there are over 3,850,000 students taking vocational courses.

In recent decades, there has been a marked development in our over-all basic services, but gaps exist in terms of their quality and quantity. Efforts in the years ahead must be directed toward increased emphasis on comprehensive

planning; the liberalisation of existing programmes to keep pace with present needs and new approaches; and services to meet the rapidity of demographic, social and economic changes.

Essential to planning are funds, personnel, research, co-ordination, the assurance that social policies are supported by fiscal policies, and, equally important, the understanding and subsequent action of our citizenry.

Furthering United States goals can only be achieved if planning in every area is directed toward equalising opportunities and meeting the needs of all families and their children, regardless of residence, race, colour, creed, economic or social conditions.

America's greatest potential is our children and youth. The United States must devote a larger share of its social and economic resources to their needs if the goals of our democratic nation are to be fully achieved.

The Needs of Childhood and Youth in the Socio-economic Development of Venezuela

SUMMARY OF COUNTRY CASE STUDY

*by Hector Hurtado, Chief of the Central Planning Office
of the Government of Venezuela*

THE NATIONAL PLAN

Venezuela's national planning system was established by an Act of 30 December 1958, under which final responsibility for the co-ordination of planning and the implementation of government programmes was vested in the President of the Republic, through the Council of Ministers. To assist the President and Council of Ministers in this task, a Central Office of Co-ordination and Planning was established, its chief functions being:

1. To carry out studies of the country's social and economic development and, on the basis of these studies, to prepare projections and alternative programmes and to keep under review a general plan for social and economic development.
2. To consolidate the annual budgets submitted by the Ministries and, together with the Ministry of Finance, to prepare the annual project budget annexed to the general budget.
3. To lay down the general lines of planning at the national level and, on that basis, to co-ordinate regional and urban planning through the appropriate subordinate planning bodies.

The Central Office of Co-ordination and Planning will be assisted in its tasks by sectoral offices whose functions will be (a) to make studies of the development sectors for which they are responsible, and (b) to collect and consolidate the proposed project budgets submitted by the various departments and transmit them to the Central Office.

The Central Office has also been made responsible for the administration and co-ordination of all government technical assistance, and includes a unit whose specific function is to prepare programmes for the development of Venezuela's human resources.

One of the chief objectives of the operational plan for 1964 is an evaluation of the implementation of the four-year plan during 1963. Experience has indicated a need for greater co-ordination between the bodies implementing the plan and an effort has been made to meet this need in drawing up the operational plan for 1964.

The national plan now in effect covers the 1963-1966 period. The transitional phase through which Venezuela's economy recently passed has complicated the task of planning and made it necessary to revise the hypotheses on which an earlier version of the plan, which was intended to cover the period from 1960 to 1964, was based. In its present form the plan takes into account the contribution to be made by the non-governmental sector, particularly in the fields of education and health, and was drawn up in consultation with representatives of the private sector. An effort has also been made to keep the public fully informed regarding the main outlines of the plan through the various information media. The plan is to be implemented primarily through the appropriate Ministries and through the various autonomous institutes and State enterprises.

In Venezuela the legal framework for promotion of the welfare of children and youth is provided by a number of enactments, among them the National Constitution, which lays down a series of safeguards for the family and minors, the Labour Act, the Social Security Act and, most important, the Statute of Minors, which established protective standards for all persons below the age of eighteen.

Under the current national plan, broad strides are to be made in increasing Venezuela's agricultural and industrial production and accelerating the present process of import substitution. In education, the number of primary school pupils is to be increased from 1,331,000 in 1962 to 1,676,000 in 1966, and the number of middle school students from 222,000 in 1962 to 329,000 in 1966, while a special effort will be made to improve the quality of teaching and to reduce the present high rate of school-leaving. Higher education will be expanded and improved, with emphasis to be placed on the training of technical personnel, especially industrial and public health engineers and geologists. The adult literacy campaign will be continued, with the object of reducing the illiteracy rate from 29 per cent in 1962 to 10 per cent in 1966.

At the same time, a continued effort will be made to improve the health of the Venezuelan people. The campaigns to eradicate the most harmful endemic diseases such as bilharzia and other water-borne diseases will be intensified, and it is hoped that by 1975 they will have been eradicated as effectively as malaria. The number of hospital beds is to be increased from 27,500 in 1962 to approximately 36,600 in 1966, and 138,693,000 school lunches are to be served in 1966, as compared with 60,141,600 in 1962.

One of the main objectives of the plan is to promote a more balanced regional development of Venezuela through the more rational utilisation of

natural and human resources. By 1966 it is hoped that industrial and agricultural development will be in full swing in the Guayana and Andean regions, as well as in the southwest, and community development activities will have been extended throughout the country.

Under the national plan, the value of Venezuela's gross national product is to rise from 26,322 million bolívares in 1962 to 35,813 million in 1966, which represents an annual increase of 8 per cent and an annual *per capita* increase of 4.9 per cent.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN VENEZUELA AS IT AFFECTS CHILDREN

Venezuela's birth-rate is one of the highest in the Americas, while, thanks to the environmental sanitation and mass vaccination campaigns, its general mortality rate is rather low. As a result of these factors, the country's rate of population increase is calculated at approximately 3.4 per cent annually. Infant mortality has continued to decline markedly, falling from 30 per cent of total mortality in 1958 to 27 per cent in 1962. Mortality between the ages of one and four has also declined sharply.

Like all developing countries, Venezuela is undergoing a marked process of urbanisation. The Government is seeking to stabilise the situation through its policy of land reform, the establishment of the services needed in rural areas and a series of economic measures intended to achieve better income distribution.

At the end of the current national plan, it is expected that the *per capita* national product will have increased by 20.8 per cent as compared with 1962. In order to achieve this accelerated increase an investment of 28,200 million bolívares will be necessary. Of this total, 89 per cent will be supplied by domestic savings and the remainder from external sources. It is expected that approximately two-thirds of the necessary investments will be made in the private sector.

Over the period of the plan, agricultural production will increase at an annual rate of 8 per cent and industrial production at an annual rate of 14.1 per cent. By 1966 it is expected that the petroleum industry will account for only 19 per cent of the gross national product, as compared with 22 per cent in 1962, and by 1975 it is hoped that this proportion will have further declined to 12 per cent, while the proportion of other industry will have risen to 42 per cent. In 1966 unemployment is to be reduced to 6.9 per cent of the labour force, as compared with 14.2 per cent in 1962. This absorption of unemployment, combined with the expected increase in *per capita* productivity, will be the chief basis for the improvement in the distribution of national income.

CHIEF NEEDS IN HEALTH, HOUSING AND EDUCATION

Venezuela's chief need in the health field is not so much for an increase in the total number of doctors as it is for a more balanced distribution of

them throughout the country and for an increase in the proportion devoting their time to general practice, particularly in rural areas. On the other hand, there is a serious shortage of nurses. In housing, it was estimated that there was a shortage of 750,000 dwelling units at the end of 1963. Venezuela's educational needs have already been dealt with by implication above: they consist of reducing the adult illiteracy and school-leaving rate, enlarging the country's educational facilities and improving the quality of the education offered.

SECTORS OF THE PLAN RELATING TO CHILD AND YOUTH WELFARE

Under Venezuela's current national plan a special effort is being made to deal with the country's nutritional problems, which the present Government regards as a vital question. One of the means being employed to deal with the problem is the school-feeding programme, which is the responsibility of the National School Kitchen Board. The Board maintains 2,000 school kitchens throughout the country, at which some 300,000 children between the ages of seven and fifteen are fed daily. It is the goal of the plan to raise this number to 400,000 by 1966, thus covering 95 per cent of those pupils suffering from malnutrition. In order to meet this goal the plan calls for an investment over the four-year period of more than 233 million bolívares, as compared with an average annual investment of 30 million bolívares during the 1959-1962 period. In conjunction with this programme, the training of mothers in child care and nutrition is also being intensified, and consideration is being given to the extension of assistance to children in the home.

In Venezuela the community development programme is regarded not as "just another" programme but as a means by which all the other programmes aimed at improving the living conditions of the population can be broadly integrated. The strategy pursued has been first to carry out a series of experimental projects designed to stimulate self-help and mutual aid and to co-ordinate government services and assistance in the region concerned. The next step was to extend the programme to other areas of the country on the basis of the experience gained in the pilot projects. The third stage, on which the programme is now entering, will be to organise it on a national level. In Venezuela, community development is intended, through use of the twin techniques of community participation and co-ordination, to achieve the full integration of the individual into the process of social transformation summed up in the word "development."

Another aspect of child and youth welfare to which the Government is giving special attention under the plan is the provision of opportunities for the practice of sports. This is accomplished through the National Sports Institute, which provides city children with trained coaches and sports equipment, and organised recreation activities on a neighbourhood level in all the large cities of Venezuela.

PLANNING IN RELATION TO SELECTED CHILDREN'S NEEDS

Planning for Food and Nutrition in Relation to Children's Needs

STATEMENT BY DR. C. GOPALAN

One of the major problems confronting infants and children in the developing countries is the problem of malnutrition or under-nutrition. In developing countries infant mortality is high, with the bulk of the deaths occurring in the neo-natal period. A major cause of these neo-natal deaths appears to be prematurity. The period between one and six months of age is relatively safe because of breast-feeding. Even with the best of lactation performance, breast-feeding becomes inadequate after the sixth month and supplementary feeding becomes necessary. The protein-rich foods which are essential thereafter are not in adequate supply and this creates the problem of protein malnutrition. Many children die. Many who survive carry with them into adulthood the lasting scars of protein malnutrition and this has immense social and economic repercussions.

Apart from the problem of protein malnutrition there are other problems of under-nutrition. Vitamin A deficiency is particularly important in countries of South-East Asia. Fortunately in a majority of the cases the manifestations are mild, but in its more serious forms it causes blindness. In India and Indonesia it is the commonest cause of preventable blindness in children between one and five years of age.

Infection and malnutrition are often linked, with the infection either precipitating malnutrition, or with malnutrition aggravating the effects of infection. Apart from its long-term economic repercussions, this situation leads to high immediate costs in terms of hospital beds and a concentration on curative services to the detriment of preventive efforts. Urbanisation and industrialisation tend to aggravate the already serious nutrition problem because of the apparent tendency of some working mothers to stop breast-feeding and the consequent greater number of failures in breast-feeding.

Planners and administrators do not seem to have fully recognised the magnitude of this problem. Partly this is because health statistics tend to give a somewhat misleading picture of the prevalence of malnutrition. Partly it is because the problem is of overwhelming dimensions and great complexity and does not lend itself to easy or dramatic solutions. Partly also it is because any effective solution to the problem requires a truly cross-sectoral approach.

Malnutrition among the young in developing countries stems from two

broad sets of causes—an inadequate supply of foods necessary for the feeding of infants and children, and ineffective utilisation of such foods as are available. Protective foods, particularly protein-rich foods, should receive precedence in the increase of food production.

More effective utilisation of such protective foods as are available requires nutrition education to overcome faulty feeding habits. Health centres and maternal and child health centres are important channels for such education, but most of them are not now nutrition oriented. Proper training in nutrition is required for leaders and those at the intermediate and peripheral levels. For the latter two levels the emphasis should be on nutrition orientation rather than the creation of experts.

The most intense activity in any one sector will not be fruitful in solving the nutrition problem for children unless there is an effective cross-sectoral approach. One way to achieve this might be to place the responsibility for a national nutrition policy and for co-ordination with the central planning commission.

Integrated nutrition programmes, such as are now being supported by UNICEF, FAO, and WHO, are serving a very valuable purpose. The concepts and broad strategy underlying them have found a very general acceptance; the tactics, however, need to vary depending upon regional and local factors. In India, the administrators in the States in which programmes have been put into operation are becoming more nutrition conscious and are beginning to see how nutrition fits into the over-all pattern of community development. With the start of applied nutrition programmes it is easier to justify training programmes to planners and administrators. These constitute two very important gains. Applied nutrition programmes, if properly directed, if periodically evaluated, and if they have a certain degree of flexibility to adapt to regional and local considerations, should provide the answer, at least to a limited extent, to the problem of malnutrition among children and youth specifically and to the population generally in developing countries.

SUMMARY OF WORKING PAPER BY DR. C. GOPALAN

Importance of the Problem

Planning for adequate food and nutrition for children constitutes the greatest challenge to scientists and administrators in the developing countries and to international organisations devoted to the promotion of world health. Children constitute a relatively greater proportion of the population in these countries than in other regions, and ensuring adequate nutrition for them during the growing period is particularly important as children are more liable to suffer from malnutrition than adults. Malnutrition during the growing period may permanently impair strength, stature, stamina and even intelligence. Malnutrition can always be prevented but cannot always be cured. To break the vicious cycle of ill health, low productivity, poor economic status and under-nutrition, the nutrition of the infant and the child must have primary attention.

INFANT AND CHILD NUTRITION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The Infant

The problem of ensuring adequate nutrition for infants must be tackled from the foetal stage, for maternal nutrition during pregnancy is reflected in the condition of the infant at birth. A significant proportion of conceptions in the low-income group end in abortions, miscarriages or stillbirths. The role of malnutrition in such wastage would seem to need further consideration.

A considerable proportion of infants born alive do not survive their first month. Infant mortality in many South-East Asian countries is nearly four to five times higher than in Europe and the United States. In India, nearly 75 per cent of infant deaths in the first month of life are directly attributable to debility and premature birth. The reasons for the high incidence of prematurity in Indian infants require examination. An appreciable increase in the incidence of premature births in a community may be taken as reflection of maternal malnutrition in that community.

One of the redeeming features in the otherwise depressing nutritional situation is the remarkable ability of the poor mothers to breast feed their infants successfully over long intervals. However, even the most satisfactory lactation performance cannot sustain the infant beyond the sixth month, after which supplementary feeding with protein-rich foods becomes necessary. Since these foods are not forthcoming, malnutrition sets in.

Toddlers

From the point of view of malnutrition, the period from one to four years is the most dangerous phase in the child's life, for nutritional requirements are particularly high in this period and the need for protein-rich foods is urgent. The most important manifestations of malnutrition in this period are attributable to deficiencies of protein and vitamin A. Far reaching effects of protein malnutrition are observed, both in physical and mental development. Vitamin A deficiency is one of the commonest causes of preventable blindness in the countries of South-East Asia. The immense social and economic repercussions can be easily imagined. Infantile beriberi appears to be responsible for a large number of infantile deaths. It is apparent from a study recently made by the Nutrition Research Laboratories that a great deal could be achieved through the education of the mothers as faulty feeding habits were seen to arise to a great extent from ignorance, superstition and prejudices. The pre-school child who is, unfortunately, most often neglected with respect to nutrition, is especially vulnerable and must be given special importance in nutrition planning in the developing countries.

Children of School Age

The major clinical manifestations of malnutrition among children of school age are attributable to deficiencies of vitamin A and vitamins of the B-group. Such manifestations may be significant in terms of learning ability,

absenteeism and sickness rates, although this connexion has not been accurately assessed. In the context of widespread malnutrition among school children, it will not be possible to achieve the desired results in programmes of universal compulsory primary education.

Approach to Planning for Better Nutrition of Children

The major factors responsible for malnutrition of children in the developing countries are the inadequate production of protective foods for children and the fact that the available food is not effectively channelled in accordance with the physiological requirements of the different age groups. The approach to the problem of malnutrition of children should, therefore, consist of measures designed to augment the production of the protective foods and the removal of existing social, physical, economic and cultural bottle-necks which prevent proper distribution and effective utilisation of the available foods in accordance with needs.

Production and Utilisation of Protein-rich Foods

The crucial need is for the production of more protein-rich foods. In the initial stages of planning it would appear that not enough attention was paid to the need for orienting agricultural production to meet nutritional requirements. Agricultural policy must be examined from the point of view of national nutrition, though it may be conceded that the policy will be determined in the end by a variety of economic factors. There has recently been a welcome trend in this direction, with emphasis being laid on production of protective foods.

Milk is the most important of the many protein-rich foods for proper nutrition of infants and children. Unlike some countries in South-East Asia, India has an abundant cattle-wealth, and milk has been traditionally accepted as a wholesome food of high nutritive value. The government has a vast programme (assisted by UNICEF) for improvement of the quantity and quality of milk and to bring it within reach of the poor socio economic group, but the results so far are not as impressive as one would have expected. Measures to augment total milk production have not received enough attention, and many of the dairy plants are working well below their installed capacities. Greater emphasis should be laid on increased milk production in rural areas and on measures for marketing surplus milk in urban centres.

As it appears unlikely that the protein needs of poor children in India can be met to any great extent through milk, alternative sources of protein must be sought. It appears that certain vegetable foods, after suitable processing, can be effectively utilised to prevent protein malnutrition. In addition, India, with rich potential sources of fish protein, has successfully developed modern techniques of induced fish breeding and is augmenting fish production, deep-sea fishing stations, mechanised fishing craft and fish storage plants, and expects in the course of time to develop a refrigerated fish transport system. The production of fish will increase from 1.4 million tons to 1.8 million tons by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period, making more fish available

for the feeding of pre-school and school children, and large-scale production of fish flour will be expanded.

Programmes for the Improvement of the Nutritional Status of Children

CHANNELS FOR REACHING THE CHILD. For improvement of child nutrition in India, the channels vary according to the age group. Infants and expectant and nursing mothers can be reached through maternal and child health centres and primary health centres. Children of school age can be effectively reached through schools. There are at present, however, no effective organisations through which children of pre-school age can be collectively reached in large numbers, and this is the group most ravaged by malnutrition. However, the large number of nursery schools and the network of child-care centres (*Balwadis*) now being organised will in the course of time provide a valuable channel for reaching this group. The main programmes for reaching the three groups are as follows:

HEALTH AND MCH CENTRES. Health centres, if properly staffed, would be a valuable link in the nutrition programme, but at present, for lack of funds and personnel, they cannot undertake nutrition programmes. There is vast scope for these centres to undertake nutrition education of the mothers, along with education in health and family planning, as proposed by the Health Survey and Planning Committee, but for this the centres must first be adequately staffed with personnel specifically trained in public health and nutrition.

CHILD-CARE CENTRES (BALWADIS). In the past, the care of the pre-school child depended on the work of voluntary organisations. The Third Five-Year Plan provides for the setting up of six training centres for child welfare workers for these child-care centres. The Ministry of Education is formulating plans to improve the existing *Balwadis*, establish new *Balwadis*, increase training for child welfare workers and organise a number of pilot projects for training in health education and child welfare. These measures may be the base for a nation-wide programme for the improvement of the nutritional status of the pre-school child. Meanwhile, pre-school children may have to be reached through domiciliary visits by health visitors, based on primary health centres and MCH centres.

SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAMME. The Government Committee, which recently examined the health status of school children, has recommended an ambitious school-lunch programme. A major objective of school-lunch programmes should be to educate the children and the community in correct dietary habits. At present, this aspect is not receiving enough attention so that the community served by this programme remains largely unaware of the objectives and of the long-term benefits to be expected.

UNICEF-AIDED NUTRITION PROGRAMMES. UNICEF has played a notable part in the formulation and implementation of nutrition programmes for infants and children, collaborating on skim-milk distribution which reached

about 870,000 mothers and children in 1957. Even here, however, greater attention was given to school children to the neglect of infants and toddlers. An integrated nutrition programme is now being assisted by UNICEF in certain parts of India. Practical difficulties have been encountered, for lack of proper co-ordination among the various departments and the lack of suitably trained personnel. In spite of this, the programme has made good progress in Orissa, where it was first started; in two other States the programme is still in its initial stages.

FAMILY PLANNING. In many countries of South-East Asia today, the tremendous growth of population is widening the disparity between the population and the available food supplies. Limitation of family size and the proper spacing of pregnancies will go a long way toward ameliorating malnutrition among the poor segments of the population. For this reason the Government of India has accorded highest priority to family planning programmes. However, the success of such programmes among the lowest socio-economic group is closely linked to the provision of proper education, recreational facilities, appropriate environment and economic improvement, and it would be futile to expect dramatic results in the immediate future. The Health Survey and Planning Committee has suggested various methods for accelerating the spread of family planning which may have to be employed if the current family planning programmes fail to yield the desired results.

CROSS-SECTORAL OR INTERDEPARTMENTAL APPROACH. Unco-ordinated, compartmentalised efforts on the part of different governmental departments and voluntary agencies lead to wasteful overlapping and fail to yield desirable results. An integrated cross-sectoral approach to the nutritional problems of children has yet to be evolved in many developing countries. How can effective co-operation among the departments of food, education, agriculture, community development, health, etc. be organised? Both at the centre and in the states there must be a proper organisation to ensure co-ordinated formulation, direction and implementation of nutrition programmes. The formulation and supervision of the national nutrition policy cannot be left to any one ministry or department, but must depend on an inter-departmental or non-departmental body, which would make recommendations and have sufficient authority to implement them.

Planning for Children's Food Requirements

STATEMENT BY DR. MARCEL AUIRET

Planning for children's food requirements must be conceived within the context of food production planning for the entire population which, in its turn, comes under the heading of economic development. After the technicians have spoken, the governments must set the plan targets within the limits of financial resources, manpower and living conditions. Although there

can be no separate plan of food production for children, the needs of children do influence the choice of specific food production targets and the allocation of the means of attaining these targets.

These are the major steps to be taken in setting targets: (a) the determination of the existing food supply, (b) the determination of human requirements of nutrients and foodstuffs, (c) the setting of intermediate nutritional targets, (d) the setting of agricultural targets.

These stages may be described briefly as follows:

DETERMINATION OF THE EXISTING FOOD SUPPLY. First, food balance sheets are set up—recording stocks, production, imports, exports and waste; indicating deductions to be made for animal feeding and in non-food manufacture; and showing the quantities of each commodity available for human consumption in kilogrammes per year and grammes per day. From these sheets it is possible to calculate the calorie, protein (animal and vegetable) and fat content of the average individual's daily food intake.

DETERMINATION OF HUMAN REQUIREMENTS OF NUTRIENTS AND FOODSTUFFS. These requirements are determined on the basis of physiological needs, which are known with sufficient scientific accuracy for practical purposes. Requirements of calories, animal and vegetable proteins, fats (and sometimes vitamins and calcium) are calculated for each age group and for certain physical conditions (e.g., pregnancy and lactation). The requirements of all groups are then added together to obtain the total requirements of the population and then divided by the total number of inhabitants to obtain the average intake required for subsistence, growth and physical and mental activity. The average required intake must then be translated in terms of food, according to the dietary pattern of the country or region and the composition and nutritive value of available foods. A proper balance must be preserved among the various components of the diet. For example, the proportion of calories of carbohydrate origin (cereals, starchy roots, tubers and sugar), which is at present 80 to 89 per cent in poor countries, should be reduced to 60 to 66 per cent. Ten to 12 per cent of the calories should be of protein origin. One-third, or at least one-fifth, of the proteins should be of animal origin. Thus, the ideal standard intake, which must be the object of all production efforts, is obtained. National requirements are obtained by multiplying the quantities of foods in the standard intake by the number of inhabitants. The gross tonnages to be produced are obtained by adding to these figures at least 10 per cent to allow for waste between producer and consumer. The nutrient deficit is the difference between the ideal nutritional requirements and the existing supply. The procedure to be followed in this calculation is based on the assumption that the food supply is fairly distributed in proportion to the needs of individuals and, in particular, the needs of children. However, it is known that this is not the case as uneven distribution occurs for reasons of geographical location, income, education and dietary habits. It is therefore recommended that the targets should be raised by 10 per cent at least in the case of certain commodities, to cover disparities in distribution and over-consumption by privileged groups.

THE SETTING OF INTERMEDIATE NUTRITIONAL TARGETS. Ideal nutritional targets are obviously long-term targets, and it is impossible to forecast or decide when they will be attained. It is therefore necessary to set intermediate targets, which involve a choice of priorities and will ensure a step in the right direction. The nutritionist, the agronomist and the economist combine to consider what can be done in a given period—in the example chosen, ten years. They take into account the local agricultural conditions (soil, manpower, equipment, fertilisers, yields, etc.), the cost of production, the demand, food prices and deficiencies detected by the medical nutritionist. The resulting intermediate targets represent a compromise between the wishes of the nutritionist and the exigencies of food production.

THE SETTING OF AGRICULTURAL TARGETS. Finally, taking into account many other factors (imports, exports, purchasing power, demand, economics of production, investments required, etc.), the economist sets global intermediate targets.

We have noted above that, in determining human requirements, efforts are made to meet children's needs. At the next two planning stages children's rights and vital needs must be so safeguarded as to ensure that, whatever the cost of production of protein foods, the children will receive the minimum essential to a balanced diet, and to ensure that production economics is not used as a pretext for taking the easy way out, which would prove expensive later on in terms of sickness.

The major nutritional problem, far more serious than the supply of calories, is the supply of protein foods. The old idea of producing more of everything already in production must be discarded. What is needed is a selective orientation of production, designed also to satisfy man's physiological requirements and to meet not only spontaneous market demand but also demand guided by the nutrition education of the public.

The immediate production targets are thus fixed, and in order to attain them the country will implement regional plans adapted to soil capability, crops, methods of marketing and the financial resources, manpower and equipment available. It will also apply incentives or compulsory measures and agricultural extension services, which are particularly necessary in relation to the production of food for local consumption as distinct from production for export, where the profit motive is enough.

However, the planner's role is not confined to the formulation and implementation of a food production plan. He must also consider at least two kinds of additional measures:

- (a) The food produced, even if increased by 10 per cent to take into account disparities in distribution, is not divided according to the nutritional requirements of families in the first place and of the respective members of the family afterwards. Food surveys show that, as soon as he is weaned, it is the child who is most affected by scarcity of foods, whose share is smallest in proportion to his needs. A child's share is not usually served out for him. After the father, who takes precedence, each member serves himself from the common dish mouthful by mouthful and the small

child, who cannot keep up, is left looking hungrily at the empty dish. The education of mothers is therefore vastly important; it should begin at school and continue in everyday life through every avenue by which mothers and fathers can be reached: through MCH and social centres, through rural adult education, literacy campaigns, agricultural and domestic economy extension services, community development centres, youth movements, women's clubs, etc.

(b) Disparities in distribution can and should be minimised through the establishment of systems of allowances—in cash or in food—for needy families. In addition certain supplementary feeding programmes may be organised for mothers, children and workers on the basis of international or bilateral gifts of food (e.g., the World Food Programme, UNICEF, CARE, CARITAS, etc.). However, apart from the World Food Programme, such programmes are always social or even charitable in intention, designed as emergency stop-gap measures. They are rarely an integral part of development plans and no regular budgetary provision is made for them. These programmes should have a place in national plans with the aim of redistributing national and international resources for the benefit of the underprivileged. It must be recognised that this will cost more than the market value of the foodstuffs received, which in most cases are supplied as gifts.

How can governments and planning offices be induced to take into consideration these specific requirements of children and give them priority? The first step must be to attract their attention, inform them, and if necessary help them. So far, very few countries have competent nutritionists capable of giving their governments sound advice. Such people must be trained; in addition to medical nutrition training, they will need enough economics to be able to assemble the information required by the planner, to speak to him in his own language and to fit into a planning team. A nutritionist must be attached to the Planning Office to collect nutritional documentation and analyse it. This nutritionist could serve as the Secretary of a National Office or Board of Food and Nutrition on which all departments concerned with the production, processing, distribution and utilisation of food would be represented. This Office would be able to furnish the planning ministry or the planning office with food targets, which would in turn be built into the general plan of economic and social development.

To sum up, the three essential points in a food planning system, which takes into account the priority needs of children, are as follows:

1. The general planning of food production should be selectively oriented so that shortages of foods particularly necessary to children will be made good first.
2. The producer must be educated. In developing countries, where 80 to 85 per cent of the population live on the land, the producer must keep himself and his children properly fed through an improved subsistence economy, so that the resources acquired through a trading economy (industrial crops) can be kept for investments affecting other components of the level of living (industrialisation, education, health, housing, etc.).

Example of Analysis of Food Targets for a Given Country

FOOD-STUFFS	CURRENT CONSUMPTION (1962) (Population: 36.5 million)					NUTRITIONAL TARGETS (1980) (Population: 60 million)						
	PER INHABITANT				NATIONAL SUPPLIES (000 mt. per year)	PER INHABITANT				NATIONAL SUPPLIES (000 mt. per year)		
	Calories per day	Protein (grammes per day)	TOTAL WEIGHT			Calories per day	Protein (grammes per day)	TOTAL WEIGHT				
			gramme/day	kg/year				gramme/day	kg/year			
Cereals	972	28	282	103	3,760	4,845	1,170	33	340	125	7,500	9,675
Roots	743	13	766	280	10,220	13,040	510	9	530	190	11,600	14,500
Sugar	24	—	6	2	73	73	45	—	12	4	260	260
Pulses	144	9	32	12	438	477	175	11	50	18	1,100	1,200
Meat	39	3	20	7	255	255	90	7	47	17	1,030	1,030
Fish	8	1.1	13	4.7	183	212	35	5	55	20	1,200	1,390
Milk	17	1	27	10	365	365	90	5	140	50	3,070	3,070
Eggs	2	0.1	1	0.4	15	30	35	3	25	9	550	1,100
Oils	133	—	15	6	220	220	200	—	23	8	500	500
Fruits & Vegetables							150	3	300	110	6,600	7,260
TOTAL	2,080	55 (5 gr. animal protein)					2,500	76 (20 gr. animal protein)				

¹ Net supplies available for human consumption after amounts estimated for feed, seeds, wastage, etc. are deducted from total supplies.
² Production \pm trade \pm changes in stocks.

Example of Analysis of Food Targets for a Given Country (continued)

FOOD-STUFFS	INTERMEDIATE NUTRITIONAL TARGETS (1980) (Population: 60 million)						INTERMEDIATE AGRICULTURAL TARGETS (1980) (Population: 60 million)					
	PER INHABITANT			NATIONAL SUPPLIES (000 mt. per year)			PER INHABITANT			NATIONAL SUPPLIES (000 mt. per year)		
	Calories per day	Protein (grammes per day)	TOTAL WEIGHT gramme/day	kg/year	Net ¹	Total ²	Calories per day	Protein (grammes per day)	TOTAL WEIGHT gramme/day	kg/year	Net ¹	Total ²
Cereals	1,170	33	340	125	7,500	9,675	1,170	33	340	125	7,500	9,675
Roots	525	9	540	200	11,800	14,750	525	9	540	200	11,800	14,750
Sugar	35	—	9	3	200	200	35	—	9	3	200	200
Pulses	190	12	55	20	1,200	1,320	190	12	55	20	1,200	1,320
Meat	84	6	42	15	924	924	60	4.5	30	11	650	650
Fish	10	1.5	17	6.2	365	420	10	1.5	17	6	365	420
Milk	65	4	100	36	2,200	2,200	30	1.5	48	18	1,050	1,050
Eggs	6	0.5	4	1.5	90	180	6	0.5	4	1.5	90	180
Oils	200	—	23	8	500	500	200	—	23	8	500	500
Fruits & Vegetables	150	3	300	110	6,600	7,260	150	3	300	110	6,600	7,260
TOTAL	2,440	70 (12 gr. animal protein)					2,380	65 (8 gr. animal protein)				

¹ Net supplies available for human consumption after amounts estimated for feed, seeds, wastage, etc. are deducted from total supplies.

² Production \pm trade \pm changes in stocks.

3. The distribution of food resources, actual or potential, national or international, should be improved through the education of mothers and through supplementary feeding programmes for mothers and children.

Finally, it seems obvious that a nutrition specialist trained in food planning would be a useful member of the planning office staff and would at the same time serve as secretary and mainspring of an interministerial board on food and nutrition.

STATEMENT BY MR. E. M. OJALA

FAO estimates that the demand for food in the developing countries may increase by about 2.5 per cent annually in the 1960's due to population increases. Another 1.6 per cent increase may be expected if national incomes increase at a minimum rate of 5 per cent annually, bringing the annual increase in demand for food to 4.1 per cent as compared with an average increase of 2.9 per cent in food production in the developing countries in the 1950's.

In view of the migration from rural to urban areas where income levels are higher, the demand for food in urban areas may increase two to three times as fast as in rural areas, and the primitive marketing systems are not geared to carry a rapid increase in food supplies to towns and cities. It is often easier to import food from distant countries to meet the urban needs.

Two key problems are: to ensure economic incentives to food producers, and to improve domestic marketing systems for food products.

Solutions are not easy. To ensure stable prices to farmers, marketing systems must be improved and carried across the country. There must be a network of buying stations within easy reach of all or most farmers, where they can always be sure of selling at the full market price or at a stated floor price. Such a network is very costly if the government has to establish it, and very demanding of trained and experienced local leadership if producer-co-operatives are to be used, which is generally reckoned to be the best solution. All this is hard enough for food grains. It is much more difficult for the foods in greatest demand for children. Animal products, fruits and vegetables being perishable need costly installations of storage, processing and transport and high standards of quality have to be maintained.

Indications are that domestic food production in most developing countries will have to be supplemented by rising food imports for many years to come. In these circumstances what does food planning mean? Developing countries usually approach this question by assuming stable prices for basic foods and no rationing. Taking into account the estimated population increase and national income increase, demand targets are set for individual foods during the plan period. The next stage would be to see how the trends of economic demand should be modified on nutritional grounds to meet more adequately the needs of children. Nutrition education can obviously play an important part. If further modifications are thought necessary, definite policy measures will be needed to change the relative prices of different foods, to favour increase in consumption of those that are nutritionally of special value

for children, and to decrease the consumption of those that are less valuable, for example, a subsidy on pulses and a tax on sugar to raise the necessary funds. Special measures may be needed to increase production of foods nutritionally valuable for children, and to reduce their relative prices, for example, subsidies on livestock feeds or special credits for certain types of production.

Supplementary feeding programmes especially for school children, or a system of special rations for pre-school children, might also be necessary, and targets should be set for the amount of individual foods needed for such programmes over the plan period. Some countries also plan to establish national food reserves to ensure a regular flow of supplies during the plan period. When amended in these various ways, which may involve a departure from the original assumption of stable prices, the original demand targets will give rise to modified supply targets for the next stage of the food planning process.

The supply targets must be divided to arrive at import and production targets. This is probably the most difficult part of food and agricultural planning. The following factors must be taken into account: the availability and cost of food imports; the possibility of allocating foreign exchange for food imports; and the possibilities of domestic food production related to the current agricultural production pattern, the extent to which it can be changed during the plan period, and the costs entailed.

Consideration must be given to the possibility of obtaining food aid from external sources during the plan period. In addition to bilateral sources, food aid is available through the UN/FAO World Food Programme, which may provide a wider range of foods in the future including some that are of special value for children. The extensive use of food aid must be accompanied by firm national agricultural development policies including the improved marketing of food products and special measures to protect the levels of food prices to the domestic producers.

Observations on Planning for Children's Health Requirements

STATEMENT BY SIR JOHN CHARLES

In the developing countries, the leading causes of death are the diarrheal diseases. The second leading causes are the respiratory diseases and pneumonia, which often occur because of nutritional conditions. At the beginning of this century, in the developed countries, the infant mortality rate was usually at least of the order of 150 per thousand live births. Where the rate rose, it was because of such things as seasonal invasions of bacterial bowel infections. Rates in the developing countries were much higher.

CROSS-SECTORAL CO-ORDINATION. In the United Kingdom at the beginning of the war there was established a governmental committee on nutritional policy, and it continues to this day. Later, for the ten years 1950 to 1960, I was, as Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, the *ex-officio*

chairman, and the vice-chairman, for the greater part of that time, was Dr. Norman Wright, who appropriately moved to FAO as Deputy Director General. The importance of that committee rested in the fact that representatives of the Ministry of Health and of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, of the Ministry of Education and of the Medical Research Council were members of the committee. You may ask: Was there any real need to keep an eye on the nutritional state of the population of the United Kingdom in those post-war years? Every three months we scrutinised the family dietary surveys of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food which were carried out on a large scale on the basis of interviews with three thousand families each quarter. From this material, we were able to determine which were the vulnerable groups and where their deficiencies lay. Usually the deficiencies were in protein.

We also interested ourselves in goitre, which is a very important deficiency disease in many parts of the world, with very definite after-effects. We looked into the question of food additives, and the remote possibility of their carcinogenic effects. From time to time we received inquiries from ministers on such things as school meals and what should be done about milk rations to school children. I think you will agree that these examples indicate the usefulness of cross-sectoral co-ordination and a very simple means of obtaining it.

Planning for Education

STATEMENT BY MR. JEAN GUITON

In the last few days, I have often felt that I was taking part in a meeting of educationists. One thing that struck me was that the speakers who went most deeply into questions of substance connected with education were the planners and the economists. I think, for instance, of the statements made by Mr. Ben Salah, Mr. Bobrowski, and our Chairman. This is a good sign, and it shows that it is almost impossible to talk of planning for children's needs, or of educational planning, without talking about teaching and pedagogies.

One question which has been much discussed—particularly in connexion with the special situations in Tanganyika, Tunisia and Poland, to mention three examples—is rural education. I should like to make a few additional comments on this subject. The problem was discussed very recently, in the general context of Africa, by the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Countries held at Abidjan only a fortnight ago. The Conference expressed the concern, the anxiety, which the Ministers and the educational planners felt about certain facts—one such fact being that a large number of children who complete their primary education in Africa have no opportunities for post-primary education. This is equally true in Asia and in Latin America. In addition, a large number of children who start their primary education drop out before it is completed. The children in both these groups return to live in rural areas without any technical or agricultural training and

Agriculture; in many cases it will be seen that the proportion of civil servants from rural areas is negligible. What a paradox! The planning of rural development, and of rural education in particular, is not being done by "rural" experts, or at least is being done without their help. In Latin America, for example, everyone knows that most men and women village school teachers are the sons and daughters of town-dwellers. Yet it is these teachers in rural schools who are asked to make their schools into instruments of rural development. And if this is so is it because the Latin American farmers' sons do not want to become schoolmasters? Not necessarily. It is rather because the education available to them in their villages is such that when they leave primary school the teacher-training colleges are virtually closed to them, because they cannot compete with pupils who have been taught and trained in towns. Is it not obvious that such measures would merely help to perpetuate under-development in the rural areas? Development in this field very largely depends on a concerted effort to improve the quality of rural education. This formula is simple, yet it is difficult to apply. The first requirement is to improve the training of rural teachers, to ensure refresher facilities for them and to provide them with efficient tools. In this way, country children can eventually be given both the means and the opportunity of participating in the planning and management of services that will expedite economic and social development in what we have come to call the "rural areas."

Demographic Considerations in Planning for Children— the Case of Education

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR ALFRED SAUVY

Instead of reading out the report which you already have, I propose to state its main points briefly.

Economists and public opinion as a whole have long held the view that capital was the essential factor in economic development. Later, as a result of experience and certain setbacks, the human factor was recognised as of prime importance. A man's efficiency depends essentially on the education he has received, so that the debate really turns on two questions:

(a) How can the great need for education be met in a country with scanty resources?

(b) Which direction should this education take?

I shall say nothing about the second of these issues, important though it may be. I shall deal only with the first. The question here is not the child's needs alone. The child can, if necessary, go without education. What we are considering is not a physiological or a vital need, but the needs of the community, bearing in mind the general interdependence of men of different generations.

children at a particular level of education. Out of every 10,000 Swedes, there will be 1,380 children, who need 55 teachers. These 55 teachers must be found from among 5,800 adults. Therefore, it will suffice if one in 100 adults devotes himself to teaching. In Indonesia, the figure is very different: 2,100 children would need 84 teachers, to be found among only 4,730 adults—proportionately, therefore, almost twice as many.

We are thus faced with a kind of genetics in reverse. It is the new generation that commands the old to provide it with teachers. In a few years, perhaps, the situation will become even more difficult in certain countries. In other cases, however, there may be some improvement in the ratio between generations during the next few years.

In a United Nations estimate prepared by Mr. Bourgeois-Pichat on the basis of three stable populations—one demographically undeveloped, the second beginning to develop, and the third demographically developed—the burden of education was calculated, and Mr. Bourgeois-Pichat found very considerable differences: the number of teachers, per 1,000 of active population, to be trained each year was three to four times greater in the less developed countries than in the developed countries.

The difficulty of recruiting new teachers leads to the idea of cultural seeding. With the aid of a model (in the economic or demographic sense of the word), I tried to discover in what circumstances cultural seeding could be practised through the operation of geometrical progressions at each generation—the term “generation” being here understood in the sense of a generation of teachers, in whose case the time-lag between generations can be much less than with biological generations. The calculations are to be found in my report, and I will not enter upon their details now. The result is relatively encouraging. It shows that for any level of education—it matters not which—the problem of teachers can be solved in two generations, which I have fixed at fourteen years each, that is, in twenty-eight years. If efforts are brought to bear in this direction, the rate of multiplication of teachers is so fast that the rate of population increase (some aspects of which are so worrying) becomes a matter of secondary importance.

This, of course, is an investment which does not yield quick profits and may even not yield any until some thirty years have elapsed; but it is a highly productive one.

This brief outline shows that in a comparatively undeveloped country education is faced with formidable difficulties, but that we can hope to solve the problem within about thirty years, at least as regards elementary education. In young and rapidly growing populations, the solution can be found only by activating the young. Admittedly the method of intellectual seeding does not of itself solve the initial financial difficulties, and it will be some time before national production benefits from it. But this calculation may have the merit of showing international agencies and the developed countries that, if they wish to endeavour to help the developing countries, they will find it offers an excellent method. It seems hardly necessary to add that the child's needs in education are constantly increasing with the spread of knowledge. We know only too well that in most if not all of the developed countries

those needs are not being fully met. Let us simply recall once more that education is for all countries the most profitable of economic investments, if it is properly directed; and that on these lines a new channel for development might be opened, through which the water would flow faster.

WORKING PAPER BY PROFESSOR ALFRED SAUVY

Introduction

During the first post-war years dedicated to means of putting an end to the so-called phenomenon of under-development, calculations and suggestions turned mainly on capital. That was a very natural point of view because at first sight capital is the basic factor in development.

Subsequently, thanks to the research carried out and, it must be admitted, to the setbacks suffered, more and more emphasis was laid on the primacy of the human factor. Moreover, the successes achieved in Western Europe, successes which went far beyond the greatest hopes, confirmed this view. It is now hardly challenged any more, although it is sometimes lost sight of. Furthermore, the example given below will demonstrate the very high return on the training of men. However that may be, and without denying that an effort of any kind costs money, we see that the debate has come to bear on the two following points:

Quantitative: How can the great need for education be met in a country with scanty material and cultural resources?

Qualitative: Which direction should this education take at the various levels (general culture or technical education, the place of science in the curricula and so on)?

I shall deal only with the first point in this report.

The question here is not the child's needs, in the same narrow sense as when speaking of his needs in food, housing and care, for example. It is true that the child will personally benefit, both materially and morally, from the education he has received. But in this matter the needs of the community must be considered, from the point of view of dynamic development and of the general interdependence on men of the same generation and, perhaps even more, of successive generations.

Extent of the Work to Be Done

In any given country the aim is to move progressively from an unpretentious cultural level to a high level by ensuring adequate education for the children.

Leaving aside the training of adults, not that it should be disregarded but because it is necessarily limited by various factors, we see that under the best possible conditions and the most favourable assumptions the attempt to raise the cultural level for all generations will take time, nearly a century in all;

education of all the active population will take more than 50 years and education of the generations under 40 years of age will take 30 years.

Financial Aspects

Education in a developed country costs about 6 per cent of the national income, but to provide the same education in an undeveloped country would require a very much higher percentage, partly because the national income *per capita* is much lower and partly because the proportion of children is higher. According to Professor Lewis, elementary education for children would alone take 4 per cent of the national income in Nigeria.

The following calculation was made at a recent conference at Addis Ababa: The aim was to bring elementary education to 100 per cent in six years, secondary education to 25 per cent and higher education to only 2 per cent, a figure which, incidentally, was considered too low. Now, even if prices remained stable and the national income increased by 4 per cent the first five years and 6 per cent the following year—an optimistic assumption—and if the cost of education increased twice as fast, there would be a deficit of a billion dollars a year for five years in Africa south of the Sahara alone. That figure is much higher than the sum of foreign aid to these countries.

Amortisation of the Cost of Education

There is still another approach. In France the total cost of cultural and technical training of a person from the age of six years to the end of his studies has been calculated and this cost converted into work-years, a work-year being the average production of an active person in one year.

It was found that elementary education alone costs about half a work-year, training of a skilled worker a little more than a year, and training of an engineer a little more than four years. These are of course orders of magnitude, but they do not seem in any way extravagant. In short, it would be enough for a skilled worker to set aside two years of his productivity (assuming that his productivity was close to average) out of the forty to forty-five years of productive life expectancy for him to "amortise," as it were, the cost of his own training. This does not seem a very high cost, in fact about 5 per cent. The fact that this training increases productivity by much more than 5 per cent gives some idea of the extremely high yield of "investment in human beings."

Of course, the total cost of training in a less developed country would be much higher because the yield of the work-year is much lower. In addition, the age pyramid in less developed countries has a very broad base, and the younger people are much more numerous. This work of training should be undertaken immediately, but for the moment no bank and no foreign aid is lending money to discount the future work of the man for whose training it would serve.

Demographic Aspects

It is therefore desirable to look at the matter from another point of view, that of mankind, or, to be more exact, of teachers and pupils.

Population A: Demographically undeveloped in both fertility and death rate, as in the case of some African populations.

Population B: Beginning to develop, with a lower death rate and lasting fertility, as in Ceylon, Mexico, etc.

Population C: Demographically developed, like the United States or the Netherlands.

The data are as follows:

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
Birth rate per 1000	53.8	50.3	22.3
Death rate per 1000	<u>34.5</u>	<u>16.0</u>	<u>9.4</u>
Natural increase per 1000	19.3	34.3	12.9
Net rate of reproduction	3.5	3.5	1.5

The pyramid is very blunt for A and B, much less so for C. Mr. Bourgeois-Pichat then calculates the burden of teaching, on the assumption that teaching is continuous from 5 to 25 years of age (higher education).

For populations A and B the rate of progression is that of the under-developed countries. For population C the rate is that of the industrialised countries.

This gives the following results for males:

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
Number of teachers per thousand of active population to be trained each year	0.75	0.91	0.27
Number of teachers to be recruited each year per thousand persons becoming active	18.	19.	9.

The disproportion is considerable on the first line (almost 1 to 3), but less for the number of teachers to be recruited from each new generation (1 to 2). The diminution arises from the fact that the proportion of active younger generations (from about 20 years of age) is greater in less developed populations. In this case the broadness of the pyramid at the base has a more favourable result. The new teachers must henceforward be recruited almost entirely from the rising generations. Hence the idea of cultural seeding.

Cultural Seeding

If it should prove impossible to find enough teachers among the adult generations, it might be desirable to change the standards and methods of teaching and to have more recourse to audio-visual means and the like. These questions are, however, outside our subject and in any case would not radically change the basic problem. In fact, it is proposed to have not all the teachers immediately needed—an aim beyond reach, but the greatest possible number in the shortest possible time. The key is of course to be found in the new

economy at its true worth, they would see how desirable it is to help countries which are making a big effort in this direction.

It is hardly necessary to add that the child's needs in education are constantly increasing with the spread of knowledge and that many developing countries are far from meeting these needs. Let us once more recall that even from a strictly materialistic point of view the training of men is the most "profitable" of economic investments, in all countries.

Observations on Planning for Vocational Training

STATEMENT BY MRS. E. JOHNSTONE

Education should be viewed in broad terms, that is in terms of all the means of acquiring knowledge and skill, not solely formal education, relating to economic and social development and the needs of children. We must think with imagination about other training facilities, whether in the industrial sector (which may be ill-equipped to assume that load of responsibility) or in a mixed bag of industrial and other sectors. Does the public sector have to assume a certain measure of responsibility for out-of-school vocational training?

I am referring particularly to pre-vocational and vocational training of all kinds and apprenticeship training leading to many occupational levels. The developing economies must meet many kinds of needs. There is an important role for vocational guidance and occupational information to young people, in order to give them realistic orientation in both urban and rural areas, to reduce the problems of the so-called "educated unemployed" and to help in some way to solve certain of the problems of rural exodus.

Our aim should be so far as possible to integrate all forms of education and training, in school or out of school, and to unify them within a coherent system, not freezing the *status quo*, but opening the doors of occupational opportunity to each youngster in one way or another, and encouraging a large measure of upward mobility, especially to bring the mass of early school-leavers or uneducated young people into some stream of learning and earning. For learning and earning must go together in the poor countries.

In order that the whole set of education and training facilities can be developed efficiently, economically, and humanistically, we have to know a good deal more than we know now. We have better means than we had in the past of assessing the present situation, of finding out more about our manpower resources. Progress has been made in developing tools and methodology, and in practical results. In regard to current and short-term manpower planning, the difficulties are not insuperable, though there are many problems. Longer-term forecasting and planning is obviously more difficult. In order to forecast manpower, you need to know what you can do with your young people, that is, relating social and occupational targets to occupations, and occupations to educational and training background, so as to determine educational and training requirements for any period. The forecasting may be done through the

comprehensive manpower requirements approach, through an educational output, a ratio approach, the use of economic indicators, or through a combination of these for cross-checking. This kind of forecasting gives a rough yet a rational projection of plans for education and training for youth in terms of the goals of a country, as well as of the targets and the specific needs of economic and social development over a shorter period. Apart from what is being done at the national level, the ILO has been doing a great deal of field and research work on these aspects of manpower policy. In estimating manpower requirements we work very closely with UNESCO, associating our manpower experts in the field and in Headquarters with their educational planning teams. This in itself has made some contribution to methodology in planning for the needs for education and training in relation to youth in a good number of the developing countries.

What we have to know in relation to education has been explored much more thoroughly than what we have to know in relation to methods of out-of-school training. Should the training responsibility be borne by the industrial sector, by the employing establishments? Is vocational school training so expensive that we cannot afford it at the present stage? We need to know a great deal more about these things before we have a solid basis for reaching considered conclusions. A great amount of money is going into this sector of meeting the needs of youth; in the ILO alone, it is some \$30 million or more a year in international assistance for training. What are the best ways of developing youth training patterns within the developing countries, integrated with the educational system, complementing the educational system, opening the channels of opportunity to young people, so that the money being spent by the developing countries will not be wasted?

We have tried to develop a priority research programme: first, to find out the numbers who should be trained up to certain skill levels in relation to the manpower forecasting estimates; second, to find out the methods and costs of the different methods of training on which practically no information is currently available, and to quantify them both in economic terms, and in terms of the social returns of the different methods of out-of-school training which will keep the doors of opportunity as widely open as possible.

Too little attention has so far been given to the unemployed youth in the developing countries. At the request of the African countries particularly, we have done a good deal of work to try to describe the interesting and imaginative methods they are using to try to combat this problem, sometimes by compulsory means but, more often, by voluntary means, such as labour brigades, with the objective of mobilising youth's energies more effectively in the development process. The very scope and urgency of the problem brings it to the forefront in consideration of the needs of children in developing countries.

We try to think in two ways:

- (a) To ask why there is, in the midst of manpower shortages at higher levels, a problem of the educated unemployed. Here we are using case studies. Through these studies, we will try to draw together and analyse conclusions as to whether what we are doing for the more privileged

young people can be more closely related to the requirements of economic development as well as to the social and other requirements of the young people.

(b) To study on the spot the schemes being developed in the under-developed countries to combat the problem of mass youth unemployment through the various and very interesting schemes.

We have also given too little attention to the protection of employed young people. For many years in many countries, we are going to have young people, ten, eleven, perhaps younger, employed full time with very little behind them in the way of education and training. How can we make it possible for them not only to earn but to be provided with some developmental opportunities? How can we protect their health as young workers? How can we prevent them from being exploited in terms comparable to the exploitation of youngsters in the early days of the industrial revolution in the western world?

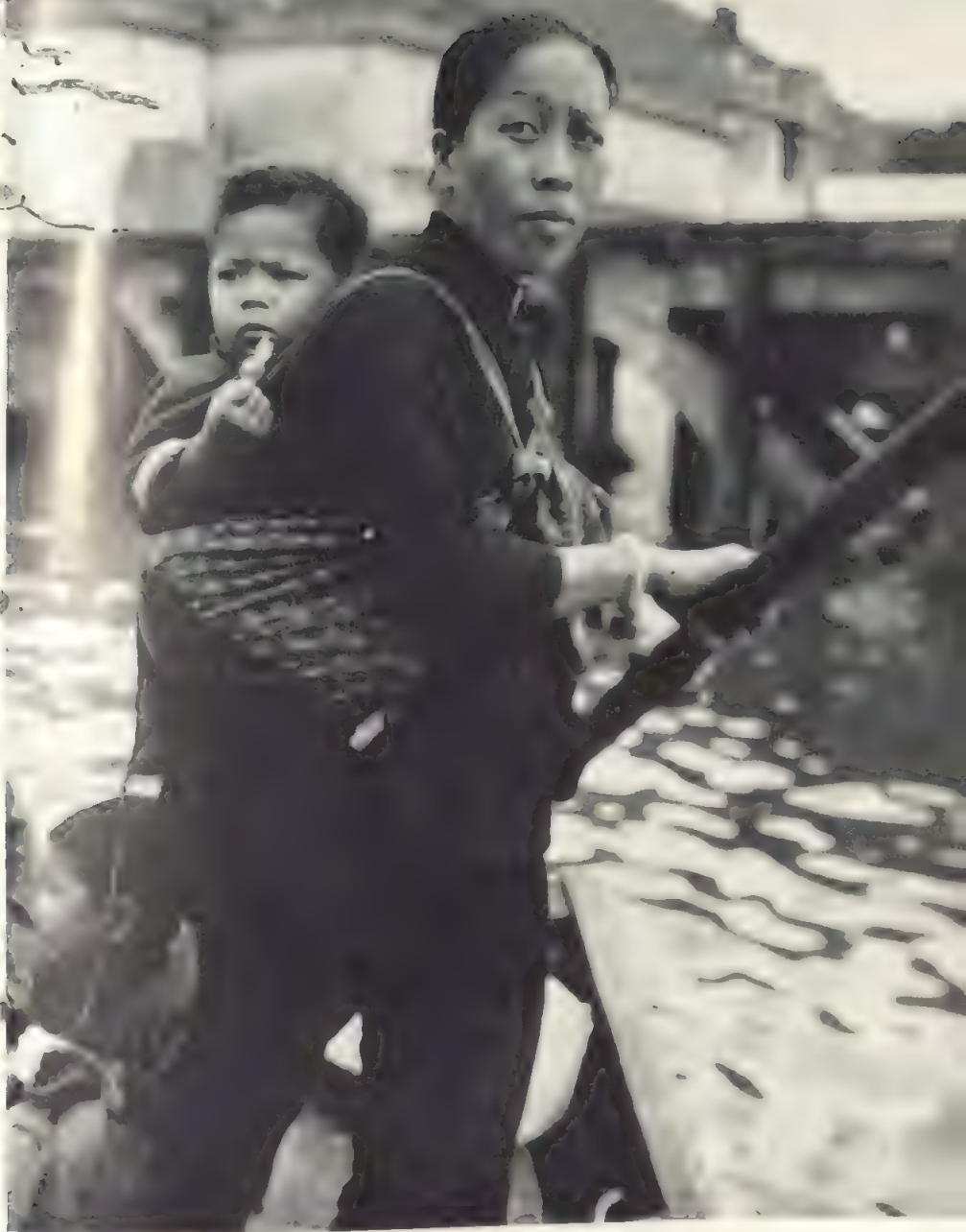
The third problem which has been referred to is the problem of day-care for pre-school children. Whatever priority you can give to this problem, and whatever you may think about the various forms of child care for pre-school children, whatever your philosophy of family life may be, there is a real need for care of pre-school children, and the need must be met.

A fourth problem is that of planning for the needs of children in national development, and here I would make a plea for greater attention to the needs of girls in the developing countries, for many of them, for traditional or other reasons, have been left far behind and must be given an opportunity to catch up in order to play their full role in the development process.

Aspects of Social Development Planning in Africa

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY MR. JAMES RIBY-WILLIAMS

Mr. Riby-Williams expressed the conviction that the round-table conference would, in itself, constitute an achievement by awakening national and international interest and conscience on the problems and needs of children and ways of tackling them through planning processes. He cautioned, however, against suggesting to developing countries that in order to achieve an effective plan and programme for their children and youth they must necessarily go through a process of establishing a theoretical social framework of development in which the philosophy of social welfare and other non-economic variables and factors can be used in various complicated analytical systems and models. Neither the present manpower and technical resources, nor the time factors, involved in such processes are within the reach of most of the developing countries. In many African countries economic development programmes, in fact, constitute no more than national governmental objectives and departmental forecasts of what they hoped to do in the next few years ahead, and in many cases their implementation depended largely on the



CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS . .

... in all countries





... require some form of day-care facilities



*Child-care class
in a Togo village*



**TEACHING
THE MOTHERS**

*Sewing instruction
in a health centre
in Ethiopia*



Community development programme in India—village mothers learn how to make clothes for their families.



A public health nurse visits a mother in Mexican countryside.



PLANNING . . . Participation at all levels develops people, at the same time that it contributes to sound decisions for national development.





IDENTITY . . . Planning can contribute to the individual's vital sense of belonging to family and nation.



their application to specific human needs, can in fact stretch very much farther the impact and scope of these resources. Furthermore, such an approach in international assistance can go a long way in demonstrating to national governments and to their technical ministries the need for a realistic approach to planning for human population needs; the need for an inter-disciplinary approach to planning and implementation of national programmes; and the need for establishing development planning structures which have built-in devices for checking the impact of national development programmes on the key human factors in production, and national well-being.

Two conferences have so far been held, under the chairmanship of the Executive Secretary of the Commission, with the representatives of the specialised agencies and the heads of divisions of the secretariat, and already a pattern of basic African social development needs and of some concerted action programmes has emerged. The next step is to view the particular programmes of multilateral and bilateral agencies in Africa in relation to those basic needs and the proposed programmes so as to determine the weight of their collective impact, the gaps and the weaknesses, and the new areas for concerted action.

Among the major problems in needs of children and youth which have been defined and analysed by the conferences are: disease control and medical protection for the infant and the pre-school child; social welfare services to meet specific needs of infants and young children; health and nutritional education; day-care facilities for children; and maternal and child health services, including both rural and urban day-care centres, school health and nutrition programmes.

It is clear that one of the main problems facing the African countries today is the very large number of young people who have little or no education, and a very poor preparation for work and adult life.

The Conference of the African Ministers of Education in Addis Ababa in 1961 pointed out that for the African States as a whole only 16 per cent of the children of primary and secondary school age were enrolled in school and this does not take into account the serious problem of school drop-outs and other wastage which detracts from the effectiveness of the educational system and leads to a loss not only of money but, more important, of good human material. Although various sociological, cultural and economic reasons for this phenomenon have been advanced, the plain fact is that no serious study has been undertaken of this cross-sectoral problem.

The Social Consequences of Urbanisation to Children

SUMMARY OF WORKING PAPER

BY MRS. HELENA IRACY JUNQUEIRA

Attention has been focused in this report on the present day situation in Brazil, with special stress on the particular aspects observed in the city of

São Paulo. The vast size of the country, its population explosion, communication difficulties, the out-dated agrarian structure, the obsolete political and administrative structure, and, until quite recently, the complete lack of any planning are still factors that seriously warp the country's development, creating a marked disequilibrium between the northern and southern regions.

Brazil is now the country in South America with the highest production growth index and the most unfavourable situation as regards social services for its people. This disparity between the two sectors creates a bottle-neck in economic development and brings about more widespread tension, which provokes frequent internal political crises.

Urbanisation Trends and Internal Migrations: Main Causes and Consequences

With the advent of industrialisation in the south of the country and improved means of communication over recent years between north and south Brazil, it was only natural that waves of migration should be intensified in a disorderly fashion.

The migratory rush is aggravated with the occurrence of such cyclic phenomena as droughts in the north-east, or events such as the setting up of huge hydro-electric plants, oil refineries, steel mills, or even the building of the country's new capital—Brasília.

The country's larger cities now have to shelter severely maladjusted and deprived groups in the population, mainly owing to the fact that they are made up of a contingent of under-employed, unstable and often idle labour, who are faced with the difficulties of adapting themselves to new living standards. The labour market in some of these cities is not large enough to assimilate the new contingents of workers and the result is unemployment.

It is the "family" which endures present-day crises, squeezing into a few years the passage from one civilisation to another. Shaken to its foundations, family life is naturally disrupted, with the result that children are abandoned and juvenile delinquency is fostered.

Housing is the most worrying of all problems. The scarcity of dwellings is aggravated by the extremely high cost of building plots and, consequently, of rents. Hence the appearance of slums and shanty-towns.

Child and youth problems in developing countries arise mainly from misery and the population's low standards of living. They are rooted in under-development. Only through economic and social development programmes can a true child-protection policy be set up.

Measures to Be Taken to Improve the Situation of Children and Youth

Economic development cannot be conceived of apart from social progress. The rising of the standard of living of the individual, even if not taken fully into account, must at least as an output factor be included in any development programme. To a certain extent, some degree of health, literacy and professional preparation of the worker must be borne in mind in present-day labour requirements.⁹

This policy should, in our opinion, be centred on the family and de-

veloped on a community basis. The economic and social strengthening of the family becomes the cornerstone of any social welfare policy. Communities organised on a geographical basis or on their main interests encourage man's team-spirit, and once people have been stirred into action, they offer a sure foundation for social welfare programmes as well as an inexhaustible source of human and material resources.

Child maladjustment is, in all its extent and gravity, a symptom and has to be regarded and treated as such. It is a consequence of family indigence and disorganisation and the fruit of sudden transformations with which humanity has to contend in its passage from one civilisation to another. Thus child and youth protection must be an integral part of family protection programmes and expressed along the lines of social change. Fundamental components of family protection schemes are: family allowance, family subsidies and housing.

Obviously not all the sectors dealt with can be tackled at the same time. In any kind of planning, the direction of priorities is strategic. A system of priorities should take the following into account: attention to the most urgent mass needs, objectives, and purposes which should be both feasible and well-received by the community at large.

Among basic changes to be effected in socio-economic development are structural reforms—land, urban, enterprise, banking and teaching systems, politico-administrative structures, international trade and many others.

The first steps taken towards planning do not of themselves always guarantee a fair degree of co-ordination among the programmes. Old working habits in closed departments of an over-individualistic nature or those of hermetic teams are an obstruction to co-ordinated action among the different departments and services.

The efficacy of any social welfare programme depends on its being set up from a community point of view and carried out by using community forces, institutions, organised groups, natural leaders, etc.

TECHNICAL AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL. One of the bottle-necks in many programmes is the scarcity of necessary personnel. The ranks of professionals build up very slowly and do not follow the rate of the population boom, or the rapidly expanding industrialisation. Planning specialists and social scientists and agents are at a premium.

Insofar as Brazil and other Latin American countries are concerned, it is not possible for them to become technically self-sufficient in a short space of time, as the large deficit of professionals has been statistically proved, for this is not only a matter of time but also one of the scarcity of the funds available for their training and adequate future remuneration.

We see no other path than that of training auxiliary personnel for all the professions that should enlist in the social welfare programmes. Auxiliary personnel will not become an autonomous body but rather an auxiliary body under the guidance and supervision of thoroughly qualified professionals.

The job of each profession should be to study their field of action and

their assigned duties in detail, and to try objectively to indicate those which can be entrusted to their auxiliaries without any risk whatever.

The "great awakening" of the developing nations referred to by Gunnar Myrdal, already at an advanced stage of national consciousness, is evident in Brazil and is forcing the hand of governors, economic groups, intellectuals and the society at large.

Our country is now undergoing deep changes in an atmosphere which is at times one of perplexity and at others one of expectancy. Yet Brazil is ever confident of its great natural and human reserves and ever convinced that it is on the road to maturity.

The Objectives and Scope of a Policy for Children

STATEMENT BY DR. GEORGES SICAULT

In the course of the last two days, the economists have reached agreement on a number of vital topics including, in particular, the development of human resources. No divergence, then, has emerged between the views of the humanists, who regard the progress of the individual as the essential objective, and those of the economists, who look upon economic development as one, if not the only, prerequisite of such progress. The capacity of men to create wealth and to make good use of it is more important than contributions of capital. It has also been said that the development of this human capacity is an extremely difficult task, since it entails working on living beings instead of inanimate matter, changing habits, bringing minds to maturity—in short, mobilising man in the service of his own destiny. This involves putting the people to work, improving the fruits of their labour and, in order to equip the nation with skilled manpower and with the élite who are to lead it, training men for the tasks they will have to take up tomorrow.

Here the importance of the child immediately becomes apparent; for if these considerations are generally accepted, their corollary must also be accepted: the training of men—that is to say, the development of human resources—must begin in the earliest years of life. Professor Debré went particularly thoroughly into this aspect of the problem in discussing the harm which can be done to man by the stresses of his environment. It is obvious that the moulding of the personality is not completed at adolescence but is a continuous lifelong process. But who would dare deny that all these environmental stresses leave their mark on the physical, moral and mental health of the individual? On the foundation of a given heredity, the personality often begins taking shape in earliest infancy, leaving only the superstructure to be added in adult life. The latent or open conflicts which arise from the confrontation of the present with this recorded and still living past will not always succeed in wiping out the past. The child starts building his universe in infancy, and this fact must be reckoned with when human resources are to be developed on a national scale.

It is therefore no more than realistic to say that, in so far as it is con-

cerned with the development of human resources, every development plan should have as a key objective the welfare of the child and his preparation for a useful role in life. Such measures can only result from a close study of the problems which arise throughout infancy and childhood, and which vary very widely according to the environment. Four years ago we had an opportunity in the United Nations, with the co-operation of various specialised agencies and the Bureau of Social Affairs, to study these needs of children. I think it would be useful at this stage of the discussion to recall a few of the key conclusions we reached together.

In what are called the "developing" countries, children are the chief victims of the stagnation of under-development. Here is a fabric in which poverty and all its consequences—disease, malnutrition, ignorance and their *sequelae*—are interwoven. Upon this background, it may be said that the dynamics of change often adds still darker touches to the canvas. This happens, in particular, when population growth adds to the number of mouths to feed, and food production cannot keep pace; or when, as was said just now, the phenomenon of urbanisation drives a more or less indigent population to the outskirts of the towns, where the children are far worse off than they were in their original environment. Of course, the pictures varies considerably from country to country, but the background is always the same.

Nevertheless, the relative importance of the factors involved sometimes varies widely from one country to another. I should like to give a few examples. Sometimes it is disease which dominates the picture and prevents all economic and social development. This is true, for example, of those countries which are still a prey to malaria, which decimates the child population and blocks virtually all economic progress. In other countries it may be hunger. I realise that the word "hunger" has often been used to dramatise a situation and that it is not really a question so much of true hunger—of those famines which have arisen in the past, and which still overtake whole regions from time to time—as of nutritional imbalance, in which certain essential elements of the children's diet do not reach them in adequate quantities. Again, it may be the lack of social welfare that leaves the newborn child at the mercy of his environment, sometimes without even an identity, with no one to care for him but a mother who may have been deserted during pregnancy, before any family setting could take shape. Sometimes it will be ignorance that the country's government considers the most important evil to be fought before any progress can be achieved.

To conclude, there is no magic formula with which to identify the needs or to overcome them. It is for each government to examine its own file of children's needs and then, when the file is properly understood, to set its own priorities for action subject, of course, to the plan of economic and social development where one has been drawn up. In countries which have reached a certain stage of development, a certain quantity of statistical, economic and social data will already have been assembled, and the file can be prepared from this material. On the other hand the government may face a situation so serious, owing to the disorganisation of the country, as to make it extremely difficult to draw up such a file and to form a clear picture of children's needs.

It is in such cases that, in the past, measures have been tried which, though well enough meant, were the outcome of an incomplete view of the problems. Yet it is precisely in the countries which are worst equipped, those which have no planning bodies or research organisations, that a clear understanding of children's needs is essential. In this connexion, I need hardly say, the only virtue of the outline we have submitted lies in providing a bird's-eye view of the problems which can arise in relation to child health, child nutrition, child education, or, to be more precise, the struggle against ignorance and for child welfare.

It will be evident to you that it is possible, through relatively brief surveys, to determine in what fields, and in what order, priorities should be set for action. In that connexion one point which has arisen continually, particularly in the least developed countries, is the need to train the country's own personnel who are to take charge of the promotion of development, the promotion of human resources and, consequently, the promotion of a policy for children. This professional training proves to be one of the vital strategic points to which all surveys have given priority, and we come to realise that, in international action too, this was perhaps one of the first points on which to concentrate. As the Chairman has said, I think that in the developing countries such action should begin at the top of the pyramid—that is to say, with the training of teachers—and go down to the base, the level of implementation. We all know that the expert is only a temporary expedient, only a substitute; that, while he is on the spot, he must try to train competent people; and that his role will come to an end as soon as the country's own personnel can be trained. The countries must develop themselves, for their own benefit, and the children of these countries must become their leaders tomorrow.

Once such a bird's-eye view of the problems has been obtained, then machinery must be established both to evaluate the needs and to co-ordinate the work to be done. It seems necessary that a country's general planning should include planning for the needs of children, so that the children's voice will be heard by the government. Here the humanitarian aspect and the economic aspect are reconciled in preparing for a better future.

The Objectives of a Development Policy

WORKING PAPER BY DR. GEORGES SICAULT

The experience of the last fifty years shows that there can be outstanding achievements on the economic side in developing countries without necessarily bringing solutions to "human" problems. We have witnessed the springing up of flourishing industries, the creation of new cities, the development of natural resources, and the establishment of solid infrastructures, without similar progress in human living conditions; for if a minority of the population has benefited from increased well-being, the great majority is still living in conditions akin to misery.

At a time when the richer countries are intensifying their help to the developing countries, this lesson should inspire reflection on the problems of development as a whole.

The objective of a development policy should not only be, as it has too often been thought of, the development of the economy of the country and of its natural resources, but the advancement of man. If it is true that no real social progress can be achieved or maintained unless a country is building up its own wealth, we must not confuse the means with the end and draw the conclusion that economic considerations have absolute priority. Progress should be placed under the sign of humanism; the objectives must be, above all, to enable the inhabitants of the less-favoured countries to develop their aptitudes and thus achieve physical, mental and social well-being. This orientation is part of a trend which began in the eighteenth century and has never ceased to affirm the rights of man in society; after the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the working classes, it opened all frontiers to broad ideological currents which have placed the advancement of man foremost among the needs of humanity. Moreover, there no longer exists a conflict between the conception of the "humanists," who consider that the progress of man is the essential aim to be achieved, and that of the economists, who consider economic development as a necessary if not sufficient condition of such progress. The aptitudes of men to create wealth and put it to good use are more important, perhaps, than help in the form of capital investments.

The development of these aptitudes represents a most difficult task, since one has to work on a living being, and not on inanimate matter, to change his habits and attitudes; in a word, to mobilise man in the service of his own destiny. For that we have to put the population to work to improve the fruits of their labour and, in order to forge the "cadres" and the élite of the nation, to train people in relation to the tasks they will have to assume.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHILD

Such considerations being obvious, we have to accept their corollary: the development of man, that is to say the development of "human resources," must begin in the earliest stages of life. It seems, however, that this aspect of the problem has often not received the attention it deserves. The development of man has been conceived as an abstract process, without taking into account either the physical and psychic repercussions which sickness of the mother during pregnancy, illnesses of early infancy and malnutrition may have on him, or the importance of his social environment, education, and many other factors. The building up of the personality is a continuous, lifelong process; but who could deny the profound impression on the individual of his years of infancy? Without resorting to Freudian theories, is it not universally admitted that the physical and mental health of the individual, his physiological and psychic development, even his cultural pre-conditioning, are greatly influenced by the first period of his life? On the basis of a given heredity, the personality begins to be formed from infancy onwards, and years often add only "super-structures" to the foundation. Even the conflicts, latent or open, born of the

confrontation of the present with this accumulated but living past, will not succeed in destroying it. The child builds his own universe from earliest childhood, and it would be idle to deny this or not to take it into account when considering the development of human resources at the national level. The strength of a building lies in its foundations. As Prime Minister Nehru has declared: "In a sense, the care of the child is of the greatest importance; for out of this child will grow the man and woman of tomorrow and the New India that we seek to build."

This fact needs no more demonstration in the countries which have still only a small percentage of children in school and which are encountering the greatest difficulties in implementing their development plans. We all know isolated cases of ignorant adolescents who, in a few years, were able to become scientists, but these are exceptions. The training of "cadres" cannot begin after adolescence.

Thus, we are not being audacious but simply realistic in asserting that any development plan must, to the extent that it envisions the development of man's capacities, whether as a basic objective or as a necessary means for the economic development of the country or for both these reasons, take into consideration measures for the protection of the child and his preparation for a useful role in life.

STUDY OF THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN

Such measures have to be based on a serious study of the problems which arise all through childhood; problems which are, moreover, very different according to the degree of economic development of the countries. This came to light in the survey made a few years ago by UNICEF, with the participation of the United Nations Specialised Agencies and the Bureau of Social Affairs. In the rich countries the child no longer suffers from hunger, forced labour at an early age, ignorance, or the sicknesses which are killing the young generations elsewhere. Certainly there are cases of unhappy, maladapted or handicapped children; but these countries have the necessary financial resources and skills to integrate them into the life of the country. Quite different is the situation in the developing countries, where so many ills afflict children all at once. The static state of under-development is a canvas woven of poverty, sickness, malnutrition, ignorance and all their consequences. On this backdrop, the dynamics of development often adds still darker touches, as when population expansion adds to the number of mouths to feed, while agricultural production is insufficient; as when families leave their traditional surroundings to swell the miserable shanty-towns, while no longer benefiting from the protection of the group. The picture varies from one country to another, for the needs are not the same; or, more precisely, the respective importance of different needs varies with geographical latitude, social environment and the degree of a population's progress. In one place, it is principally sickness which hinders all economic and social development (for instance in those countries where malaria still represents a real scourge); in another it is hunger, with all its consequences and the vicious circles created by malnutrition and other child-

hood ailments such as parasitic diseases; elsewhere, it is the lack of social protection which means that the child is often born without identity, with no protection but that of its mother abandoned during pregnancy and before any family home has been created; in still other places, it is ignorance that must be fought before any progress can be achieved.

Thus, there is no situation which exactly resembles any other, nor any magic formula for detecting basic needs and determining priorities to remedy them. As made clear in the studies carried out in the past few years, it is for each government to study its own child problems and establish priorities for action within the framework of its economic and social development plans.

Population Expansion and Its Consequences

The first problem is obviously that of population expansion, often very rapid, which, while bringing to a country its "human resources," can represent for the community an increasingly heavy burden to the extent that the country is under-developed. When the annual gross national product of a country increases at a slower rate than the population, "demographic" investments needed to maintain the standard of living are no longer possible, and we have to abandon any social and economic investment which would permit an improvement in living conditions. This raises the question of birth control, with all its attendant difficulties due to different religious and moral values in various parts of the world. In practical terms, no satisfactory solution seems to be immediately in sight. However, a slowing-down of the population expansion does not seem in many developing countries to be a necessary condition of progress.

Conditions of Birth and Survival

The second problem relates to conditions of birth and survival. Neo-natal mortality is usually very high in the developing countries, and the same goes for infant mortality. There is an enormous difference between the mortality rates for children from one to four years old in developing countries and the rates in others. Many explanations may be evoked: under-nourishment; malnutrition—which is even more serious among shanty-town populations who, without adequate wages, have switched suddenly from a subsistence to a market economy; unhygienic conditions in the environment; and a high incidence of communicable diseases (malaria, tuberculosis, etc.).

The first question to answer is which among these ills threaten the children's future; the respective importance of such ills; and what are the immediate, medium-term and long-term measures which should be taken to deal with them. Priority in the fight against the major diseases? Creation of a public health infrastructure? Health and nutrition education? Acceleration of the production of protective foods at the village, provincial and country level? Even if infant mortality were considered a natural brake on population increase, nobody could maintain that the morbidity and mortality of the older child, although he may more or less "weigh" on the national economy before having any productive role, must not be combatted on humanitarian and economic grounds.

Social Environment

In the developing countries, the shrinking of the world by modern transport facilities and commercial exchanges of all kinds has brought ancient civilisations into contact with the West, and frequently imposes new ways of life on the less-advanced populations. This cannot happen without an often difficult period of adaptation, and may even result, from time to time, in failure, with all the inevitable consequences for the individual and society.

The examination of children's needs should first consider the protection of the child in his social environment: registration of his birth and protection against everything which tends to dislocate the natural family group. Certain countries of Latin America have an extremely high rate of illegitimacy (70 to 80 per cent). The child finds himself linked to the fate of his mother: when she has numerous liaisons followed each time by new births and abandonment by the father, when her income is meagre or non-existent, it is not at all surprising that the child is defenceless and oppressed in his social environment. He may fend for himself more or less satisfactorily, depending on whether he takes a job shining shoes or delivering newspapers or whether he turns to begging or pre-delinquent activities. These problems are often met with in the shanty-towns where poverty reigns alongside modern buildings reflecting the luxury of an inhuman civilisation. In rural areas the child is protected by the clan or the group in which he is living; but there his future is endangered, since illiteracy is often his lot.

Education and Training

Education is an area of major importance for the development of human resources, but it is also one where the needs of the child conflict with those of his society or of the whole nation.

On an individual level, the problem is obviously to give all children a minimum education to prepare them for useful work and a better life.

On a national level, universal education appears to be impossible in many countries because of their meagre financial resources. Nothing can be done for a certain percentage of the children who will have to remain ignorant. The rest can have the benefit of a basic primary education. A small minority will be able to obtain secondary or technical education which will prepare them more directly for work. Finally, a tiny percentage (0.5 per cent) will be able to enter a university and become the élite of the country.

Everywhere, however, even in countries where school enrolment is high, it is not only a quantitative but a qualitative problem; and we have to know what type of teaching should be given to these children. If no prospects of future employment are open to them, is it wise to continue giving an academic education to children living in the rural areas when such an education will uproot them from their surroundings, when they will not want to lead the sort of life led by their forefathers, and when they will swarm around the towns and swell the ranks of unemployed who have no training to follow a practical trade? It is therefore a whole orientation which has to be envisaged, both in terms of quality and in terms of outlets offered, in order that the child may be prepared for an active life within the national structure.

THE MINIMUM TO BE GUARANTEED TO THE CHILD

If in each of these sectors—health, nutrition, teaching, preparation for a trade—it is necessary to establish a policy, it is equally evident that all the problems of childhood are intimately linked. The child is a complex being, who has to be considered as an entity; and his ailments, hunger and ignorance cannot be overlooked if it is intended to prepare him for a social role tomorrow.

A plan for the development of human resources—setting aside all humanitarian and social aspects—has to foresee measures which will ensure a minimum of health to the child, insofar as one can speak of a “minimum” in this area; his health must be safeguarded, and he must be sheltered from the main infectious diseases and from nutritional ailments. A minimum of social protection must also be ensured through appropriate legislation and through the creation of social services within the limits of the country's resources.

In preparing a child for active life, the country's activity in the areas of agriculture, industry and mining, its employment prospects, and the professional qualifications needed for employment will determine the minimum education necessary for him to obtain employment, either directly or by successive stages.

In the last analysis, this complex of health and social protection, education and professional training calls for qualified personnel; priority in all cases should be given to training those in charge of training. Action in this field requires the creation of training centres, whose smooth operation must be assured by teachers and monitors. The order of priority thus becomes clear: one must begin at the top of the pyramid before getting down to the operational level. Perhaps this is where external aid can play its most important role; first, by sending experts to advise governments and begin training at a higher level, and then by helping governments create this valuable national resource composed of professors and technicians.

CONCLUSIONS

In this perspective of development, the place of the child appears in the forefront. His health, his physical and moral strength, his education and his personality will determine the future of the whole nation; and it would be just as dangerous to forget this as to try to build a policy for children outside the general framework of the plan.

Finally, the planner should seek a long-term compromise between what it would be desirable to do for all, on the one hand (in the name of the rights of the child), in order to ensure complete protection against hunger, sickness and social injustice, and adequate preparation for life, and, on the other hand, what is necessary for the development of a sound economy, without which the social structure would crumble like a house of cards.

TECHNICAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACHES

Issues in Relating Children's Needs to Planning for National Development

STATEMENT BY MR. E. J. R. HEYWARD

I suppose that the issues before this meeting could be summarised in two words "why" and "how." We have heard this morning a very inspiring introduction to our consideration of "why" it is necessary to make a special place for children and youth in planning national development. So it remains for me to say a few words about "how," which is rather the question accented in the Secretariat's paper. In 1959 and 1960 the Executive Board of UNICEF began to take serious account of the view that the best way to get the condition of children improved in a fundamental way was to have a place for the necessary programmes in the national development of the country. It was their thought that the starting point would probably be an assessment of the needs and condition of children in each country and consideration of how they could be met. This could be described as "what children demand from the plan." In fact, the response to the agitation of that question has been disappointing.

We have not altered our opinion that an assessment of needs is an essential part of the question, but perhaps it is not a starting point for the planner, whose help we need because he controls the resources of the country. So we hope that this meeting can turn the question round, and look at it from the point of view of the planner. It may be that the starting point for the planner is not what children demand of the plan, but what the plan demands from children.

Most countries have now a long-term "perspective" plan, extending over ten, fifteen or twenty years, which sets a framework of general lines of development into which the medium-term plans, the five-year plans, are fitted. Even in the countries in which children have to go to work early, it takes at least fifteen years to bring the child from birth to the point where he may begin as a productive member of society. If, then, we imagine the planners as having laid out tentatively the main lines or strategy of the perspective plan, can we imagine them asking themselves what are the implications that these have for the development of children and youth.

I think that there are certain government options which may come first into consideration: unity, moral questions, inculcation of honesty. Another government option in many countries is the extension of primary education, because that is a matter of great political and social interest to the population

of many countries. So there are certain options which have a particular bearing on the way children are treated and developed.

Then we come to the general orientation of the plan in an economic sense. If we look at perspective plans, from the point of view of where the new jobs are to be found, we usually find that the new jobs are not in the same places as the employment of today. For example, in the Third Five-Year Plan of India, where perspectives are indicated, over a period of fifteen years, two-thirds of the new employment created is to be found in industry, and the people who are to come to work there are not coming from industrial families; they are coming from, presumably, agricultural or other families who are outside industry. So the child born today has to go into a completely different environment. Even that is not the complete story, because in order to enable industrial expansion to proceed, it is also necessary to transform traditional agriculture. Theodore W. Schultz makes as a condition of the transformation of traditional agriculture that the people working in it, that is the children of today, must have an education. Only that, he says, will permit the use of fertilisers, hybrid seeds, mechanical means, irrigation and credit, which will enable this agricultural production to feed growing industry. So in those two very broad aspects of the economy, industry and agriculture, perspective plans are in fact supposing that the children born today will grow up to a completely different type of work.

Now I pass to the demographic problem. We have the impression that privately, if not publicly, sometimes even publicly, objections are made to programmes in which we would be interested to improve the condition of children and youth on the grounds that the population¹ is growing too fast, social measures have gone further than the economic base of support, and therefore the effort to improve the condition of children and youth at this time is misguided. I would like to read a few sentences from the introduction to the plan of Colombia, by the President, who does not draw that conclusion, but he draws clear attention to the problem. He says: "The great threat of these times is the demographic explosion which, among us, is not only a rigorous hypothesis of statistics, but a reality which we touch every day. If we are going to have, as appears certain, 10 million Colombians in 1970, we cannot let them take their place in the poverty of the majority of our present compatriots, obliged to dispute their little patch of misery with the present generation. Without hospitals, without schools, without housing, without urban social services, without drinking water in the great majority of our cities and municipalities, and even less in the country areas, without their own land, without energy, this almost fabulous increase of population cannot be allowed to convert the countries of Latin America and particularly our country simply into a terrible shanty-town of our civilisation." No one will question that that is a problem which the planner will be concerned with, but how is it related to this meeting? As Professor Debré mentioned, it is very fundamentally related to certain social questions, the status and education of women, the aspirations that parents have for their children, health and education.

Those two subjects illustrate that the general orientation of the plan has already certain implications for the services that need to be set up in the

country to develop children and youth. In the light of those considerations, then, the planner may be willing, we hope, to go on to the step of the assessment of what the present situation is. And then he will invite various authorities to elaborate different sections of the plan. According to the way in which planning works, that will normally go on in the first place within the sectors which include concern for children. Those are health, education, social welfare services, part of labour, part of community development and so on.

We would like to raise for discussion whether there is not a great deal of work remaining to be done in each of these sectors to work out what is a good strategy of development not only for their sectoral services as a whole, but particularly for those concerning children and youth. It seems to us that there is so far very little concrete advice to offer to countries, very little comparison of experience showing them what would probably be the most useful line of development which they could follow. Probably this task needs to be broken down for different stages of development. We think that it is a mistake, of which we have certainly been guilty, to look on the developing countries as one whole, rather than recognising that there are many stages of development to each of which a different strategy is probably necessary. A very interesting illustration is afforded by a book just published by Harbison and Myers in which they work out in relation to education and vocational training an analysis of countries into three types, a manageable number with which to begin such an analysis.

My last point is that many of the problems which particularly concern children cannot be solved within one sector. Several ministries have to deal with them, and that seems to pose in practice one of the greatest difficulties for bringing them within the planning process. This meeting will be concerned with examples such as nutrition, and the problems of children and youth in rapidly growing urban areas. Inter-ministerial consultation is needed in the preparation of the plan, and also what has been called a "horizontal" look at the plan, across the various sectors, before it is finally adopted.

There is an additional reason for raising this last question, and that is the life cycle of the child himself. In infancy and the pre-school age perhaps health problems are predominant. The child passes to a later age in which certainly educational problems are predominant. A little later problems of vocational training become predominant. Those problems each are the concern of a different ministry, and therefore it appears logical to look at the provision proposed by the different ministries for their sectors to see how they fit into a coherent or systematic plan which looks after the child as he passes through those different stages.

Some Neglected Aspects of the Role of Children and Youth in Developing Countries

STATEMENT BY MR. H. W. SINGER

As economists and planners, we all agree that targets are necessary in several senses. When you plan specific social or economic projects, you must spell out your project stages, your aims and your objectives; otherwise you are in a miasma of ambiguity. In one or two other senses I believe that targets in the social field will not be as precise or are not as essential as they are in the case of economic planning.

In the social field we may operate with what we might call substitute targets, quantitative targets, such as the number of hospital beds or the number of doctors or health assistants or maternity clinics per thousand of population; but this is not a genuine target. In economic terms this is an "input" rather than an "output." Often we do not know what improvement in health will result from the provision of so many hospital beds or so many doctors or health assistants. We must very often work with substitute targets, taking as targets the cost or the means of doing something, or the instruments by which we hope to accomplish something. The real target is to get as much value out of this investment as we possibly can. We may form a picture of what we hope to achieve, but this is not a real target, in the sense that we would expect to get so many tons of steel if we put up a particular steel works. The second distinction between social and economic targets is apparent when we engage in intersectoral comparisons, as when we try to value the productivity of a given amount of expenditure in the field of child development or of health or education as compared with assessing the result of expenditure in economic fields. It is not possible to be as precise in the setting of targets for a reduction in the mortality rate or an increase in life expectancy as it would be in the case of producing so many tons of steel. However, when we come to placing values against given improvements in the economic field as against improvements in the social field, we may impute targets and we may, through our decisions, imply, for example, that a million tons of steel at this moment is more important than lengthening the expectation of life. This weighing of one objective against the other is a question of judgment or of strategy.

We might, therefore, be able to agree that target setting is necessary and desirable and particularly essential for a rational allocation of resources to social development, including child development. It is essential to measure the economic effects of social expenditure wherever we can, but there are these two senses in which we are not really setting targets: either we are doing the best we can and hoping for the best possible results, or we are speaking of a

strategy of development by which we are enabled to decide what percentage of our resources to allocate to social as against economic development, even though it is not possible to make precise measurements or set precise targets.

WORKING PAPER BY MR. H. W. SINGER

The thinking of planners has gone through three stages:

Stage 1. Purely economic planning; investment/consumption; agriculture/industry; infrastructure/directly productive; planning in strictly financial terms.

Stage 2. Manpower allocation—thinking in terms of manpower requirements; assuming labour productivity increases; adjusting educational and training provisions to expected demand, etc.

Stage 3. The children of today are the producers of tomorrow—not only the producers, but also the entrepreneurs, consumers and even the planners. This means that not only should their education and training, etc., be adjusted to the likely jobs (that is, Stage 2), but beyond that the possible investment opportunities in the long-term plan (10 to 30 years) must be based on the potential that is represented in the children of today.

Planning for children is a much wider concept than meets the eye (or than the papers seem to realise). Even the basic planning decision of Stage 1, i.e., investment versus consumption, is basically a decision for or against children. More resources into investment means more future consumption to be enjoyed by the younger generation in later years, and less consumption by today's adults. This assumes, of course, that the purpose of present investment is in fact future consumption, not military strength, national glorification, white elephants, etc. This point is important, but must not be taken too far:

(a) The cut in consumption that is required in order to increase investment may be such as to fall with particular hardship upon children (e.g., shortage of protein foods), and in that case they would be hurt by rather than benefit from an increase in investment.

(b) Much investment is short-lived (paying off in two to three years and becoming obsolescent in seven to eight years). In that case the beneficiaries are mainly the present adults.

In view of the transition from Stage 1 to Stage 2 to Stage 3 summarily described above, in practical terms probably the best approach to seeing the needs of children embodied in planning processes for the time being is by linking the concern for children with arrangements now increasingly made for manpower planning, i.e., manpower resources boards, manpower planning secretariats, manpower utilisation studies, etc. What is suggested here is a broadening of the term "manpower" to include the development of children into useful and productive citizens generally quite apart from their qualifications for specifically needed occupations.

The needs of children will be neglected in purely sectoral planning based on a rough equation: Sector = Government Department. This is so because:

- (a) The development of children is typically inter-sectoral.
- (b) All sectoral planning tends to exaggerate the importance of tangible, quantifiable things (industry, agriculture, power, transport, specific vocational training, places in primary and secondary education, etc.). They tend to under-estimate the intangible, non-quantifiable factors (human quality foremost among them).

Possible remedies include:

(a) A separate ministry or government agency for children so that planning for children is brought within the scope of the equation: Sector = Government Department.

(b) Emphasis in planning on objectives and problems rather than on sectors: This is in any case required in good planning and administratively best assured by a strong planning body not attached to a major government department (prime minister's office, president's office, planning commission, etc.).

(c) The existence of extra-governmental machinery in each country, such as a National Planning Council for Children, which would systematically work with the official planning body supplying the necessary data, etc., analyse draft plans for their impact on children, make timely representations, etc.

(d) Further progress in quantifying the present and future economic contribution of improvement in the conditions of children. This will make it easier to embody children's concerns in planning objectives traditionally expressed in the form of targets.

The case for special orientation of development plans towards children can be made on very simple social grounds:

(a) Children almost by definition are members of larger than average families where *per capita* income is less than average.

(b) On the whole, the poor people tend to have more children.

(c) On the whole, rural people (poorer) tend to have more children than urban people (richer).

It follows mathematically that the average child in any given country at any given time tends to be worse off than the average adult. Yet, on the other hand, on economic and planning grounds it should be the other way round. The higher standard of the child today will benefit the economy more and more lastingly than the higher standard of the adult, especially the older adult. This is important, although often the provision of higher standards for adults and for children are not easily separable, even in those cases, however, it would be possible often to slant development planning in the direction of things consumed by large families, where most of the children are found.

The importance of the matter can be roughly illustrated. In under-

developed countries about 40 per cent of the living population are children (up to age 15). Assume that *per capita* consumption among the average is two-thirds of that of adults. This means that consumption by children is 25-30 per cent of total consumption, or 22-27 per cent of total national income, say 25 per cent. Although conventionally labelled as "consumption," this is really investment, the true investment of any community, that is, to raise the next generation of producers. Physical investment, even on a gross basis, that is, including replacement, is between 10-15 per cent of national incomes of under-developed countries, as compared with 25 per cent investment in children labelled as consumption. Yet, planners devote 99 per cent of their attention to the 10-15 per cent of national income which is investment thus labelled, and hardly give any attention to the 25 per cent of national income investment labelled as consumption. Here clearly is a disequilibrium crying for correction.

The dawning change in attitude has started with education and training (Stage 2 on page 169). What is required now is to broaden this concern and focus much more on the pre-school child and the child of school age for whom no education is available. Probably a key element here is nutrition, and specifically protein-rich foods, and among those, foods of special importance to infants and young children. Hence, in practical terms, planning for children should be closely linked with agricultural policies, utilisation of surpluses, development of new forms of food aid through the World Food Programme, consumer education, and concentration of scientific research on the production of cheap, ample resources of protein suitable for young children. Such a double-barreled approach (education/training *plus* protein foods) would come much closer to a proper environmental improvement than the present concern with the human factor in development planning which is mainly limited to education and training.

The real clue to the problem, however, is the broad environmental approach: breaking the vicious circle of poverty, disease, ignorance and hunger affecting children; the creation of cumulative improvements; taking advantage of complementarities where better education leads to better housing, better nutrition and better health, while simultaneously better health leads to better education, better nutrition, etc. In other words, this approach creates a "syndrome" of improvement, such as is embodied in the Myrdal/Bunche approach to the problems of the American Negro, or as in the current American approach to the problem of Appalachian poverty. This creation of favourable "syndromes" will require money, but it could become a legitimate and non-controversial objective of a major foreign aid or international approach.

The problem should also be brought to the UN Advisory Committee for the Application of Science and Technology. When this Committee recently discussed the selection of priority problems of interest to under-developed countries, they did also list the development of new educational and training methods, but their attention was not drawn to the broader problems of the condition of children in under-developed countries.

A lot of what is required bears no cost in one of three ways:

(a) A lot can be done by better education and advice, e.g., on feeding and training of children.

(b) Many of the resources needed are not now utilised, e.g., the spare time of fathers and mothers which could be used for the improvement of conditions of their own children.

(c) The motivation of direct, tangible benefits for their own children is usually very strong among families and villages in under-developed countries, and improvement for children or possibilities of obtaining benefits for their children can be a strong additional motivation which will realise latent resources. Special emphasis should be given to the improvements requiring no expenditure.

We have learned that physical investment requires pre-investment (United Nations Special Fund). In the same way, however, human investment also requires pre-investment, that is, the development of children to the stage where they become suitable vessels and carriers of human investment.

One essential prerequisite for planning for the needs of children is the identification of expenditures, and specifically public expenditures, devoted to programmes of direct benefit to children and young people in under-developed countries. The road towards such identification is through the development of budgetary classification and management. Considerable progress has been made in this direction in a number of under-developed countries, particularly in Latin America, as a result of the work of the Fiscal and Financial Branch of the United Nations.¹ This progress has not been limited to Latin America; the Philippines, for example, has also made great progress in this direction.

It is only by introducing such functional classifications that the national planning boards are in a position to identify and measure the progress of planning for children and to assess its economic impact. It may be noted that several countries have already extended such functional classifications to government authorities below the central level. In a number of countries the functional classification of government transactions has been developed together with the introduction of programme and performance budgeting. Such programme and performance budgeting is of particular importance in assessing trends in the effectiveness of programmes oriented towards the needs of children and young people.² Performance budgeting shifts the emphasis to the accomplishment itself (number of children reached, number of illnesses prevented, improvements in educational achievements of children, reduction of juvenile unemployment and delinquency). The conference may well wish to recommend the introduction of functional budget classification and of performance budgeting in relation to children and young people. This will, however, require some more specific research into the best way of approaching these two related problems in the special case of children and young people.

The allocation of appropriate resources and priorities to the needs of children and young people has been suffering from the fact that such expenditures are not normally accorded priority with other assistance from external sources. This is partly because much of the expenditure is recurrent, and recurrent expenditure is often erroneously not considered to be "developmental." The discrimination against recurrent expenditures is not confined to social expenditures or needs of children, but also applies to economic sectors. (Some aid programmes, however, do not exclude recurrent expenditures; this applies

particularly to French aid to associated countries.) Where expenditures on behalf of children and young people are specifically hard hit and discriminated against is in the dispensation of foreign aid to under-developed countries on a project basis.

This procedure has been developed in the alleged interest of "soundness." But it does not really make much sense as is being increasingly realised by the aid-giving countries and organisations. A country receiving aid for so-called high priority project A can divert its own resources to some quite different project, X, Y, or Z, perhaps far down the priority list. If project A to which the aid is tied is really a high priority project, presumably the country would have devoted its own resources to it and cut out X, Y, or Z instead, if the aid had not been available. Hence, the impact of aid can never be understood by studying the projects ostensibly financed by the aid. The whole machinery of tying aid to projects—although comparatively harmless or even mildly useful if both sides understand the fallacy involved—operates strongly against aid to programmes which do not relate to specific sectors or consist of specific "Projects." The needs of children and young people are mostly in that category. Hence, those concerned with this subject should express an interest in developing forms of aid that relate to programmes and plans, rather than to sectors and projects. The development of "consortia" or "consultative groups," e.g., for India, Pakistan, Brazil, Nigeria, is a helpful development in this respect. It should be supported by the conference.

Planning for Children in the Context of Social and Economic Development Programmes

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY MR. MICHAEL C. KASER

Mr. Kaser, in introducing his paper, suggested that some techniques of economic analysis can be made applicable to social planning. He referred to three such techniques which he believed could, with some adaptation, be used by social scientists: (a) the clarification of policy-making by distinguishing between broad aims and the more precise targets which can be defined by quantifiable information; (b) the analysis of decisions and how they are made at various levels; (c) analysis of the process of production and distribution (including the flow of investment, capital formation and consumption, in order to have a picture of the national pattern); input/output tabulations in relation to specific objectives and their influence on other objectives; and analysis of the pattern of exchanges between regions of a country. All would be assisted by the use of computers to determine the inter-connectedness of results; and by the standardisation and general improvement of statistics.

It is particularly important for social scientists to develop methods for projecting the results of given social measures, or the outlay of funds for social

purposes. This should include awareness of interactions on other social measures. However, some economic projection may well be necessary in connexion with the investment on social measures. In the final analysis however, while the various tools of analysis can be helpful in rationally laying out a list of priorities and the results of implementation in order to obtain a consensus, a strictly technical optimum cannot be determined: this is a problem which can be resolved only by discussion.

SUMMARY OF WORKING PAPER BY MR. MICHAEL C. KASER

The Administrative Covering of a Development Programme

Purposive planning for social and economic development may be undertaken at the national level (national planning), for specific sectors of social and economic activity (sectoral planning), and for individual projects (project planning).

National planning is of its nature a government undertaking and, if it is to go further than the formulation of general policy objectives and the exertion of routine government influences over the private and corporate actions of its citizens, it must formulate objectives which are mutually consistent. The attainment of these objectives will be in line with the degree of priority accorded them by the government and those participating with it in the making of national decisions. "Objectives" are distinguished from "targets" as an element in national planning, the latter being the quantitative formulation of the former. Both sectoral and project planning are described but consideration is restricted to programming at the national level.

The Preparation of a National Development Plan

The steps in the preparation of a social and economic development programme can be conveniently classified under four heads. The first is a survey of the resources which can contribute to social and economic development. At the start of any plan period there is a volume of capital from which goods and services are produced; during the plan period some of that capital is depreciated and must be replaced, and new capital is added from current resources. The survey, therefore, is not merely a total inventory of the initial capital stock but also an analysis of the flows of resources, and of their finance, which can be made available during the plan period.

The second element in plan preparation is to list the variant objectives of the plan as set up by the national (or federal) government by regional and local authorities, by international agencies or foreign advisory missions, by non-governmental organisations or by individuals; objectives for the plan will also be, in effect, formulated by the decisions of households and businesses over the expenditure of their own finance. The list of objectives of the plan will, in effect, be a combination of policy-made desiderata and an extrapolation of expenditures outside government finance.

Thirdly, these objectives must be compared one with the other and a realistic choice of priorities made. This involves both a selection (or "ranking") among objectives and a confrontation of their cost of implementation with the current and capital resources which the initial survey has revealed. The paper points out that, while electronic computers can increase the number of variants reviewed by the plan authorities, many of the interactions between objectives and their ranking must be done with the ordinary political instruments of common sense, intuition, discussion and negotiation. The more those who will be implementing the plan are engaged in this exploration, the more the final plan is likely to be realistic.

Finally, the chosen variant must be reviewed in the light of the instruments available to the authorities for implementing the plan. The paper does not take up this aspect in any detail, since other papers are being presented to the conference on this subject.

The Resource Survey

No country, even the most developed, has at its disposal a comprehensive resource survey; the one country where completeness is approached, i.e., the United States of America, does not undertake any national planning. The type of resources which need review for the child welfare sector are examined. There is a danger in using capital-stock measures (e.g., the number of hospital beds in maternity homes) as surrogates for targets, when the welfare arising from a service (e.g., mother and child care) is not easily identifiable. The statistical difficulties in inventorising capital in child welfare sectors are by no means formidable if only national planning estimates are in view, but a number of problems are listed which arise if comparison is made with other countries, as may be the case if the benefits are to be estimated from a given target stock, or if the planners wish to evaluate their progress by international standards.

The Plan Objectives

Virtually any objective of a social and economic development programme affects children, more or less directly or indirectly. The objectives of the plan will identify the lines along which social and economic change should take place and these objectives will be governed by the widest variety of sources. As regards children, such objectives might be formulated by a medical research institute for child nutrition, by a political party for an extension of the school-leaving age, etc. Selection of standards against which these propositions are measured will already be a form of filter indicating the priorities of social and economic development and the more uniform the plan agency is at this stage, the more realistic will be its ranking. The plan agency must integrate its programme both within each sector (e.g., between the different levels of schooling), and from sector to sector (e.g., the interrelations between an improvement of the education service and the level of health). The paper suggests a number of interrelations in the child sector which are particularly

important, and which can lead to a partial attainment of such 'objective by measures primarily aimed at another objective.

The Confrontation of Costs and Benefits

The choice among the priorities accorded to these objectives and their feasibility in the light of the availability and of the ranking of other objectives is described in the context of cost/benefit analysis. The target choice between investment and consumption is a crucial decision underlying this analysis, for a benefit which involves a cost today may appear only in future. Thus, expenditure on education in a current plan period may not yield its returns until the following plan period. The readiness of the government and the community to sacrifice present-day consumption to gain future consumption forms the "time preference aspect" of cost/benefit analysis.

The Institutions for Implementation

The very fact of composing a national plan presupposes the creation of some plan agency; the decisions to be made revolve, first, around the function of the plan agency as a continuing authority to control the fulfilment of the plan and, secondly, around the need, which the preceding stages have revealed, to reshape public and private entities in the interest of implementation.

The child welfare section is one in which variations in locality and custom are particularly marked. Planning from case-study experience plays a more decisive role than, say, the assessment of tax charges upon the volume of business investments. Parents, teachers and other such persons connected with children so often make decisions affecting the child sector that social participation in planning is particularly important.

Problems of Target-Setting in Planning for the Needs of Children

STATEMENT BY MR. D. V. MCGRANAHAN

Quantitative target-setting is central to most economic development planning. Any enquiry into planning for children faces the question to what extent, and in what way, targets should be set specifically for children. Quantitative targets for children will presumably not be indicated if children are adequately covered by programmes for the population at large; or if the aspects of child welfare in question, such as the quality of family life and family care, are not quantifiable at the present time; or if the process of planning and target-setting for children would separate the child too much from his natural environment of family and community (and possibly serve to disrupt or weaken these institutions unduly). Often the best way to help children is to help the family or community of which they are a part.

Social planning in general, including planning for children, is complicated by the fact that the cause/effect or means/end relationships that are involved in achieving the basic goals are often obscure, so that precise target-setting in terms of these goals is difficult. For example, it is possible to set a target of 10 per cent increase in steel production over a given period of time because requirements for increased steel production are quite well known; but it would be difficult to set a target of 10 per cent reduction in juvenile delinquency because we have only a vague idea of how to prevent juvenile delinquency, and few would pretend that they could organise a programme aimed precisely at a 10 per cent decrease. Even in a field like health, where scientific knowledge is well advanced, there are too many factors at work outside the control of the health planners to make it possible for them to achieve precise reductions in mortality and morbidity for the population at large (or for children) over a five- or ten-year period. Health levels are to an important extent a function of income, nutrition, education and housing, for example, and these factors are not controlled through the health plan. As a result of such difficulties, social programmes are often evaluated, and goals set up, in terms of efforts (expenditures, publications, meetings, establishment of centres, etc.), rather than in terms of achievements. Means (instrumentalities) that are concrete and manageable, such as hospital beds, are substituted for ends (health improvement) in the planning and target-setting process, with consequent dangers of distortion in the plan. In the effort to improve health and to raise the life-expectancy in the African environment, for example, it may well be that a given country would do better to concentrate less on hospital construction and more on reduction of childhood morbidity and mortality through improved environmental sanitation and improved nutrition. (Much adult disease in Africa is an aftermath of childhood diseases and deficiencies.)

Much social progress in the past has involved a reaction against an economic approach to human values, as against the exploitation of child labour or against "traffic" in women and children; and it must be acknowledged that even today, when we are faced with the problem of bringing the social and economic factors together again in the context of national development planning, there are certain lingering incompatibilities between a social approach based on concepts of human rights and social justice and a planning approach based on economic concepts. For example, while there may be general agreement that it is important to educate children in primary schools, or to test them and treat them for tuberculosis, limited resources in the development plan may dictate that only a selected portion of the children in a poor country can receive these advantages. If, for economic reasons, only children in urban areas, where costs per child are lowest, are given schooling or medical aid, and if some children get no education at all while others are given secondary or even higher education, then good development planning may be achieved, but not social justice in the fullest sense, certainly not from the point of view of those who are left out.

Targets of a social nature concerned with children can be determined by various approaches:

1. The first approach is the traditional assessment of human-needs—the need for better nutrition, for health, for literacy and so forth. The important questions are: Who determines these needs? How are they measured?

2. A second method of setting targets is to determine the requirements which are dictated by other parts of the development process or plan, e.g., the requirements for education and training that may be dictated by targets for industrial development or by health targets. This is related to the “balancing method” employed in planning in the Soviet Union.

3. A third method of determining targets is increasingly referred to as “cost benefit analysis.” This term is used in a rather general sense to cover not only capital investment expenditures, but also recurrent expenditures, such as expenditures on teachers. A cost benefit analysis aims to show what is obtained for a unit of expenditure, not only in the programme where the expenditure is made (e.g., education), but also in other fields (economic growth, health, etc.). Social cost benefit analysis is a subject of rapidly growing interest and activity today.

4. A fourth approach to the setting of targets is the use of comparative standards. In traditional social welfare work, the standards for meeting the needs of deprived children in a country often have been taken from existing levels of the normal population—the children in need are to be brought up to the norm, or to some minimum related to the norm. When the purpose is to set standards and targets for the social development of the country as a whole, however—that is, for the normal population—international standards (based on what other countries at comparable levels of current or projected income are doing) are often used. Certain standard international ratios can be established, for example, between *per capita* national income and level of school enrolment or infant mortality rate. Countries can use these standard ratios for guidance in choosing social targets in conjunction with economic targets.

These various methods of approach to the determination of targets are supplementary, but they do not always lead to the same conclusions. In the last analysis, the determination of social targets remains a matter of judgment, not of mechanical formulas.

WORKING PAPERS BY MR. D. V. MCGRANAHAN

Development plans, and the activities of governments in general in the economic and social field, are organised primarily in terms of functional categories or “sectors” (industry, transportation, health, education, etc.) rather than in terms of demographic categories (children, adults, the aged, women, etc.). Given this established framework, planning for the needs of children can have several possible meanings:

- (a) Planning activity within the individual sectors to ensure that the needs of children are taken into account.

- (b) Establishment of plans and programmes to cover residual needs of children that are not dealt with in the major functional sectors.
- (c) Establishment of a unified plan for children that cuts across different sectors (as a community development plan may do), covers the residual needs, and is concerned also with inter-sectoral impacts and relationships (such as the impact of rural education on urban migration of youth or difficulties created when the minimum employment age is substantially higher than the school leaving age).

Planning for children in any of these senses raises the question of how targets—objectives to be achieved in a given time period—are to be set.¹ This question appears not only in connexion with projects and programmes immediately directed towards the needs of children, such as construction of schools, playgrounds and child welfare centres, but also in connexion with others that have important implications for children, including projects of a primarily economic character. For example, the industrial development plan can be considered from the point of view of the implications of different kinds of industry for children (as consumers, unemployed youth, etc.). Thus, in terms of profitability, soft-drink plants may well have claim for resources over milk processing plants, but if the needs of children are taken into account, the reverse will probably be true.² To take another example, the agricultural development plan can be approached from the point of view of nutritional requirements of the present and projected population, including the special requirements of children. This is an approach widely endorsed but relatively little practised, and it raises again the question of how to compare, in any systematic quantitative way, the welfare advantages of improved nutrition with the economic advantages of superior returns, e.g., from exports.

Consideration of the needs of children will inevitably lead to concern also with the over-all strategy of development and the pattern of priorities among the sectors, since choices among broad alternatives of social and economic allocation in the development plan will inevitably affect the welfare of children.

The question of planning for the needs of children has arisen in a context of growing interest in "balance and integration" of social and economic development planning. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Social Commission of the United Nations have adopted an impressive series of resolutions urging countries to pursue integrated development. Recent writings of economists give new emphasis to the role of "human investment," "human resources" and like concepts in development. Social scientists have begun to go beyond the stage of issuing warnings against the dangers of industrialisation and economic development and to occupy themselves with positive measures of social change in conjunction with economic change.

The movement towards integration of economic and social development, of which the interest in planning for children is a part, represents a reversal of a long historical trend in which economic and social functions gradually became differentiated from each other and established in separate institutions.

Pre-industrial forms, like the extended family or kinship group of the feudal system, were both economic and social in role and function. Even early industrial institutions, e.g., the company towns, exercised certain social functions under the concept of "paternalism." But in time, these functions have tended to separate off and to be independently ensured or exercised, increasingly by the state, and often in the name of "human rights," while at the same time expanding and developing.

Much of what has been called "social progress" in the past has consisted in fact of action to separate certain social objects and values from economic values and interests including, for example, action against "economic exploitation" of child labour,³ and suppression of "traffic in women and children."⁴ In other cases, social progress has consisted not so much of the suppression of evils as of the extension of services like education which, in the judgment of the society in question, the market failed to provide for adequately and which were consequently taken over or guaranteed by the state. In this process they were converted from marketed goods, subject to the law of supply and demand, into individual rights, supplied to all who qualified, rich or poor, and in the case of compulsory primary education and compulsory social security, provided independently of demand.

It can be equally maintained that the course of economic development in the past has consisted, in important measure, of separation of economic from social functions and institutions. The family has evolved in modern industrial society into a fairly pure social institution. An industrial enterprise that is simultaneously a family welfare system or a kinship system, providing employment and distributing income on the basis of considerations other than contribution to production, usually cannot operate in an efficient modern manner. The progress of economics in its method of operation, though not in ultimate purpose, has been towards objective and rational calculations of input and output, cost and returns, not towards computations based on sentiments and social relations.

This historical background has to be taken into account when we consider the question of planning for children and the setting of targets for children in relation to economic planning. It will be understood that those who work in the social field sometimes feel a certain anxiety about expressions like "human capital" and "mobilisation of human resources," which seem to subordinate social phenomena to economic concepts and purposes, even when the discussion is in the context of national economic planning which is openly dedicated to ultimate social goals. Economists are sometimes uneasy at the thought of having to deal in their technical formulations and plans with such matters as "child welfare," when the significance of these matters is urged not on grounds of utility, profitability, or productivity, but of values outside the economic realm.

Economic planning is oriented towards the increase of output, and is guided in this respect by consideration of input/output relations, cost/benefit ratios, profitability and like criteria. The major means of economic development planning has been re-investment of income. The traditional orientation of social action, however, has been towards the meeting of needs—primary

social needs created by hunger, disease, illiteracy, homelessness, etc.—and the major means to this end has been redistribution of income. The economic and the social are being brought together today by the realisation that the most important basis for meeting social needs in the developing countries must actually be economic growth. (Redistribution of income on a completely egalitarian basis would, by definition, achieve no more than the *per capita* income.) At the same time, certain forms of social development are recognised to be requirements for healthy economic growth.

The critical problem that we now face is the development of a methodology for interrelating economic and social development. The problem of establishing targets to meet the needs of children in the context of an over-all economic and social development plan is a particular illustration.

In social policy, which, as mentioned above, has been traditionally oriented towards the meeting of needs, the process of setting objectives and targets has involved, first, the assessment of the actual level of living (what *is*) and the application of a standard defining what *ought* to be; the difference between the actual level and the standard defines the extent of need. Targets can then be set to meet this need. In practice, however, standards, and hence needs and targets, are relative. The poverty line, for example, constantly advances with development.⁵ Ideally, children in developing countries should have the same educational opportunities and health services as children in industrialised countries. To say that it is impossible in practice means that social standards and social targets must be related to economic levels. In other words, in the planning operation, a decision on a social target must be taken on the context of available resources (material and manpower) and alternative demands. Much social target-setting has been quite unrealistic.

Since economic and social problems differ in important essentials, it cannot be assumed that the methods of economic planning and target-setting can be simply extended to social planning. Even the nature of the targets may differ. For example, economic targets are often expressed in terms of percentage increases; thus the target proposed for the Development Decade is a minimum annual increase of national production of 5 per cent. In the social field, however, the level of development is typically measured by the percentage of the population that reaches a certain condition (literacy, school enrolment, adequate housing), or, negatively, by rates of illiteracy, morbidity, mortality, unemployment, homelessness, etc. The percentage increase method is inappropriate for measuring progress in these circumstances and, consequently, for setting targets.⁶

A more basic methodological problem of integrating social with economic planning lies in the lack of a common scale for comparing and weighing economic and social values. Economic values are expressed in monetary terms; this is a crucial aspect of economic planning concepts like *per capita* national income, investment output ratios, profitability and related measures. Social values can be measured, as by mortality rates, literacy rates, and other measures, which may be in fact more exact and more scientifically valid than, say, the *per capita* national income (particularly in developing countries with a large subsistence sector). But one cannot convert these rates into monetary

rates by assigning, for example, a monetary value to the life of a child, using this to compute the total monetary value of a drop in infant mortality resulting from a health programme, and comparing it with the economic returns of an investment of the same funds in an irrigation project. It is true that social programmes have economic implications, usually in the form of benefits, although sometimes in the form of disadvantages, of varying magnitude. One can conceivably measure, though with great difficulty, the net economic benefit (or disadvantage) of a hospital which treats infants, workers and the aged. Considerable quantitative evidence, not always methodologically sound, has been put forward recently on the economic returns from education. But these are not measurements of social values in their own right.⁷

It does not seem realistic to assume that a common scale for converting social values, like the life of a child, into economic quantities, or *vice versa*, will be forthcoming shortly. A universal calculus of human values has been sought, off and on, for over a hundred years, without success. In fact, it is questionable whether there has been any advance in this century over the hedonistic calculus devised by Jeremy Bentham in 1870. Bentham, in his *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, proposed to measure the utility of a legislative act in terms of the pleasure or pain implied, and set forth the following circumstances to consider in weighing the pleasure or pain: (a) its intensity, (b) its duration, (c) its certainty or uncertainty, (d) its propinquity or remoteness, (e) its fecundity, that is, the chance of its being followed by a sensation of the same kind, (f) its purity, that is, the chance of its not being followed by a sensation of an opposite kind, and (g) its extent, or the number of persons affected.

If the words "pleasure" and "pain" are replaced by "benefit" and "disadvantage," then Bentham's list provides a fairly up-to-date guide to project evaluation.⁸ However, Bentham's hedonistic calculus, like contemporary cost/benefit analysis, was unable to add or equate experiences from different sources. It failed to establish a common unit of pleasure; and it could not indicate how one should weigh intensity against probability, against propinquity, etc.

In the absence of a common scale of valuation by which to weigh the benefits of different objectives, and in view also of the fact that in our present state of knowledge the presumed benefits are often highly speculative, planning decisions on projects and targets involving social components must in the last analysis be matters of judgment. That is, the measuring instrument must be the human individual, who is quite capable of comparing items and values that are technically non-comparable and reaching choices and decisions. This is done constantly in every-day life; it is a familiar aspect of public administration, as in recruitment to the civil service where such disparate variables as intelligence, experience and character are taken into account in reaching a decision on appointment at a given salary level. It is essential that such judgment in the planning field be (a) informed, and (b) disinterested.

An informed judgment must take account of needs; costs; benefits (direct and indirect, economic and social); resources (material, institutional, personnel); alternative needs, costs and benefits.

It is necessary to take account of two kinds of needs in the planning con-

text: the primary social needs, including biological needs, mentioned above, and what may be called "derived needs." The latter are requirements dictated by the principles of "balance" or "complementarity" in the plan. They are particularly evident in material production, as in achievement of balance between steel requirements and steel supply in the manufacturing sector; but the approach has been extended also to social processes in their relation to economic processes, as in the analysis of "manpower requirements." Thus an expansion of industry will require an increase in the number of engineers, which may require, in turn, an increase of secondary schooling, etc.⁹

The closest integration of economic and social planning will be achieved when economic plans are adjusted to social requirements and social plans adjusted to economic requirements, as far as such adjustments are feasible, that is, can be made without undermining the economic process or the individual's rights. Thus, while economic growth has certain manpower implications, it is also true that manpower, or more generally population growth, also has certain economic implications for jobs and for production of consumer goods, as well as for schools, teachers, hospitals, etc., on the assumption that current social standards are at least to be maintained. The general problem of balance between population growth and production growth may, of course, be approached from the point of view of family planning, as a number of countries are now doing, particularly in Asia, instead of taking population growth as a given.

Cost/benefit analysis, as a basis for setting targets, proceeds differently from requirements analysis, in that it works forward from causes to effects, rather than backwards from primary objectives to instrumental or derived needs. In theory, these are supplementary approaches. In practice, they may lead to contradictory conclusions. Thus, a cost/benefit analysis, based on comparison of incomes of secondary and non-secondary school graduates, is likely to show considerable economic as well as social advantage derived from a general secondary education in a given country; while a requirements analysis may show no need for further general secondary school graduates, in the face of extensive unemployment among them, but point to the need for vocational school graduates instead. The problem is resolved when costs and benefits are studied within a particular environment and from the point of view of marginal utility.

The cost/benefit approach, on the other hand, takes account of consequences outside the specific purpose of a project and thus provides a broader approach than requirements analysis. An informed judgment regarding allocations and targets must consider the indirect as well as the direct consequences—a matter of particular importance in programmes for children, who are the future adults and workers of the country.

While the indirect economic benefits are not the only benefits of a social project, they should be examined and quantified as far as possible, like the other benefits, including the direct social benefits. Recent experience has shown that the results of such quantification may be quite surprising, and some countries, Puerto Rico, for example, have expanded their educational system more rapidly on the basis of estimated economic benefits than they

did previously on social grounds. New techniques are also being developed for measuring the economic or material benefits of public transportation systems, recreation areas and other amenities. Analysis of material benefits of social programmes may not compel decision on these programmes, but it can be a factor informing decision.

Ordinarily, the specialist from a particular field, e.g., agriculture, industry, education, health, can be expected to point out the needs and search out various cross-sectoral benefits of programmes in their field, although perhaps not the disadvantages. At the same time, since resources tend to be limited, needs relative, and cause/effect relations obscure, it is evident that the final decisions on allocations to a given field of interest cannot ordinarily be made by representatives of that field operating independently. It is particularly inappropriate, in a planning context, that the representatives of a specialised interest should be responsible for decisions on allocations outside their own field, unless acting within a multi-disciplinary team. The question of who should make the decisions on allocations and targets, and how they should be made, extends beyond the scope of this paper, but it is clear that decisions involving important economic and social values of a nation must be political in the last analysis, and in the best sense of that word.

There is another approach to the setting of targets which does not require a cost/benefit type of analysis. It may supplement the latter or may substitute for it when cost/benefit analysis is inappropriate or self-contradictory, as when the costs of a cost/benefit analysis exceed the probable benefits. This is an approach that deals with the problem of defining needs and setting targets by the use of standards derived from some kind of comparison. It is a familiar method of operation in the social field. Thus, if a local population suffers a disaster, needs and relief targets are roughly assessed upon the basis of standards previously prevailing among the population, or prevailing among nearby populations. In many cases, the condition of the normal population is used as a standard to gauge the requirements of those in special need.

When it is a question of social development of a country as a whole, not just of groups in special need, then standards can be sought through comparative international analysis. For example, instead of trying to set targets for the level of school enrolment in a developing country on the basis of complex computation of needs and benefits, or in addition to such computations, one may attempt to determine certain standard ratios between level of education and level of *per capita* national income, level of health, etc. On the basis of these ratios, a standard for the educational level of a given country can be derived. Thus, it can be proposed, on the basis of international ratios, that a country with a *per capita* national income of about \$200 should have at least half of its children enrolled in school and should have an infant mortality rate no higher than 100 per thousand. If this country sets a target of reaching \$350 *per capita* over a given span of years, then it should aim at having at least two-thirds of its children in school by the end of the period, and an infant mortality rate no higher than 65 per thousand.¹⁰

There are a number of criticisms that can be levelled against this approach, including the observation that each nation's problems are unique; nevertheless

it is a fact that many countries, at all levels of development, do make use of comparative international data in setting development targets in the social field.

Instead of using standard ratios between different factors of development as a guide in setting targets within social fields, one may seek to establish certain standard percentages of the budget or of the national income that should be allocated for specific purposes. Proposals have been made, for example, that governments should spend 10 to 15 per cent of their budget on education and 5 to 10 per cent on health. As very rough rules of thumb, these recommendations may have some value. However, they do not take account of the different requirements that may exist at different levels of development: budgetary classification systems differ widely; and methods of financing social programmes are extremely varied, through central, provincial and local expenditures, through direct expenditures and tax exemptions, through public and private expenditures, etc. Hence, comparability is quite limited. It is doubtful whether any advantage would be obtained by trying to determine the percentage of the national budget or national income that should be spent on programmes for children, although the experiment might be interesting.

Targets and Instruments of Economic and Social Policy

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR JAN TINBERGEN

The round-table conference on planning for the needs of children in developing countries, organised by UNICEF, is an interesting check on present planning activities: do they sufficiently take into account the needs of children? As a professional planner who happens to be deeply interested in children I read with great interest the summaries of the working papers submitted by my colleagues to this conference and tried to answer the question just posed.

In my answer I want to make a distinction between the main features of development plans and a number of details of particular interest to children and their needs. My impression is that the main features of such plans are serving the main interests of children; that, in other words, there is a strong parallelism between the goals of development and the needs of children. Development is directed at future well-being, which is the well-being of our children; in the last five or ten years it has very much emphasised the role of education, which is again one of the most important interests of children. Plans do a lot to orient young people to their future tasks; they are elements built into any plan. To the extent that we already include family planning in our policies, we definitely serve the interests of children: it is in their own interest that they are not too numerous. I am, therefore, gladly joining Mr. Singer in maintaining that the main problems we have to solve for so many children in the developing countries are, in fact, development problems; that is, the ones we try to solve by a good development policy and hence express in our plans.

When we come to the details of development policy, we may find, on the one hand, a neglect of some particular interests of children and, hence, on the other hand, possibilities to improve development policies by the use of additional instruments directed more immediately at the satisfaction of some needs of children. Often these are needs which existing institutions, such as the family and the school, are not yet handling in the right way. Possible instruments or measures are school meals, school milk distribution, medical care through the school or through autonomous consultation centres, the provision of playgrounds in overcrowded areas, social legislation to protect children (for instance, with regard to working hours), club houses, holiday centres and special rations for children. In a number of cases, it is not easy to reach the children and we must rely on the parents. This requires education of the parents, both in order to do more and sometimes to do less. In wealthy countries the interests of children are sometimes damaged by their getting too much. Concern for children's needs may also make it desirable to introduce more restrictions, for instance, on movies. I feel that a bad influence is being exerted on a number of youngsters by some of the bad films we show, without having in mind their impact on children's minds. I think that a part of today's juvenile delinquency and hooliganism is the consequence of this too great freedom. I join Mr. Ben Salah in wishing there were more constructive films shown on a number of issues related to children's needs.

One point I missed in the documents: a reference to the eminent interest, precisely for our children, of preventing war. Children are even more shocked than adults by war events and they have a special right to our being more effective in organising peace. The terrible abuse made of the young generation by militarists should not be forgotten either.

My main conclusion from the preceding is that, first, UNICEF should join the forces of those who are asking for quicker development and for the necessary means to implement international co-operation in this field; then, that UNICEF should be among those pressing for disarmament and the organisation of peace. Thirdly, UNICEF should continue to present, at the highest levels of national and international policy-making, the needs of children as an important target among the other targets of development policies. In addition, UNICEF should go ahead using all the specific means which, in any national or international development policy, may help to reduce children's suffering. Here I emphasise the word specific. There is less scope, in my opinion, for UNICEF to engage in activities which are already carried out by other agencies, whose main task they are. This brings us to the question of the best division of work between the various agencies, both national and international, active in the field of economic and social policies.

This problem is not an easy one and requires some analysis. In any economic and social policy we can make a distinction between targets and instruments. I submit that executive bodies should be so arranged and organised that each of them handles a certain instrument of action and that it is erroneous to organise them around a target. In any administration or government we will meet this problem. Since there is a considerable degree of interdependence in economic and social life, the set of targets which we want to

pursue must be met jointly by the whole set of instruments. Each instrument, e.g., taxes, investments, health centres, schools, serves a number of different targets, e.g., raising future production, keeping the balance of payments in order, furthering employment, health and so on. If we organised our ministries according to targets, each ministry would have to handle a large number of instruments, partly the same, and there would be much duplication. It is better to organise them according to instruments and so to avoid duplication; but then they must all be instructed about the relative weights the government wants to give to the various targets. These relative weights must be given at the top, by a joint government decision, based on studies by the planning agency.

The only exception to this rule can be made for those more specific instruments which only affect one target and hardly affect the others. Here it does not matter whether we organise the executive agency as the manipulator of one distinct instrument or as the pursuer of a target. This is usually the case for the minor instruments of a special character, such as the ones I mentioned as the "details" of development policy.

To return to UNICEF, what I want to suggest is this. As I said, I see two sets of tasks for UNICEF which make sense. First, its pressing for the satisfaction of the needs of children at the highest level of policy-making, in order to obtain a sufficient weight for children's needs within the set of targets the government or the international community chooses. To this belongs also its joining the forces asking for more development effort and asking for the organisation of peace. Second, its carrying out itself a number of projects which, in my terminology, represent specific instruments in the interest of children. I already mentioned a number of them which are familiar to UNICEF. We may continually try to find new means of this type; and I wonder whether or not my suggestion on movies may be one. What UNICEF should not engage in, I think, is activities such as general planning or perhaps even general nutrition planning, in which so many other targets must also be taken into account and where duplication is a risk. But in the positive tasks I have indicated there remains such a lot to be done that we must only hope that UNICEF can reinforce its activities along these lines.

The Needs of Children in Relation to Planning Structures and Processes

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR EUGEN PUSIC

For the political scientist the planning process has a particular fascination because in this process the three major fields of our interests are integrated into one object: the field of politics proper; the various technical or functional processes, such as medicine, education and economics; and the administrative field. The technical processes have as their aim the satisfaction of

interests. The field of administration refers to the process of co-ordination among the technical processes and the interrelationship between the technical and the political fields.

Planning calls for the fusion of the different processes into one and presupposes a unity which runs contrary to most of the institutional arrangements we have today, so that real planning means serious change in institutional arrangements. The extent of the change depends on the level at which the planning is done.

It is far easier to be rational about small-scale than about large-scale planning, for instance about the organisation of a day-care centre than about planning the welfare of children generally. At the level of general welfare planning there are many decision-making knots, points at which you must choose alternatives, and the possibilities of mistakes are far more numerous than when you plan at the lower level, at a project level, or at the level of a functional service. Then, the difficulties of comparing the different goals with each other increase as the level of planning becomes more general. Take, for instance, the problem of comparing the importance of an improved water supply with increased school attendance; the number of goals which cannot be measured by the same criteria increases as we proceed to the level of general planning. Also, planning becomes more complex at the more general level with respect to the multiplicity of values. In addition to its immediate goal, an organisation is usually committed to some political values; the institutional goals of the organisation become more and more compelling as the organisation grows in size. And finally, the increasing intensity and size of interests makes planning at the general level more controversial. As the size and intensity of interests increase, the interests conflict and the difficulty of handling the conflicts increases as well.

However, the level at which we plan is not completely a matter of choice. A relatively static society can heed the advice of Karl Popper and keep to micro-planning. A developing country cannot do that. Where traditional institutions cannot and do not continue to function in traditional ways, something has to be done on a public scale. Planning in the developing countries must go on at all levels.

As a general rule, it is clear that the needs of children should be considered wherever plans are fashioned, but that does not mean that the structure and functional organisation of planning should be everywhere the same. The different types of central planning bodies make it more or less possible to integrate a sector for children as a particularly identified planning sector within the central planning body.

The functional structure of the planning body depends mostly on the concept of the sector, and this differs widely in different countries and with different people. Those which are often called functional sectors may be referred to also as "technological sectors"—the extractive industries, manufacturing, trade, commerce, communications, social services and government, to take random examples. One may also conceive of sectors as representing functions in the economic process, for example, a sector of production, a sector of consumption, personal and social, investment or international exchange.

There could also be an institutional concept of sectors. In either of these types it would be possible to insert a sector for children. Of course, the children's sector would be a sub-sector in the social services field, but it would not be in a position, in this organisational unit, to co-ordinate other sectors which, directly or indirectly, are just as important for children as social services.

Sometimes it might be easier to fit a special planning sector for children into a central planning body, and sometimes it might be more difficult, but in any case it will not change the situation much if you have it or if you have not got it. I do not think it worthwhile to concentrate on having in the planning body itself a specially identified sector for children. The planning process is a co-ordinated process composed of technical and political elements and it seems more important to stress the interests of children in the political elements of the planning process, and to take your organisational decisions accordingly. It would probably be useful and necessary to introduce representatives of mass organisations such as women and youth organisations, the Red Cross, or any organisation particularly interested in children, and give it the necessary weight in the political process of planning. Sometimes this process might be concentrated in the planning body, sometimes in parliament or in a special chamber of parliament. Popular participation and popular direct action in the planning process might sometimes be very important.

There is no doubt that intensive local development will play a role of considerable importance in the effort of the developing countries to cope with the unbalancing effects of social change. The advantages are the greater simplicity and the greater elasticity of action at the local level. Also at the local level the social division of labour is smaller so that you can more easily transfer efforts or personnel, from one field to another, from one sector to another. The two main problems of accelerated development towards industrialisation, the lack of services and the lack of security, can be counterbalanced very well by local action which will create substitutes for services for the time being and will certainly create an increase in the sense of security people have in working problems out together. Finally, local action has an important educational effect.

We might well agree that the idea of community development is in itself very sound. The criticisms arise from a certain incongruence between the expectations of results from community development and the analysis of the problems involved. It is important to remember that the local community, however small, is no more a harmonious and homogeneous group than a country. The differences of interests remain hidden only to superficial observers. There are conflicts of interests even in the smallest village, and these conflicts have to be taken into account in local action. Whose interests is the community development scheme going to favour? A second frequent omission is the failure to tackle the problem of method. Should all aspects of human life be encompassed in one organisational form, or should there be a particular local organisation for social aspects, for example, or should first place be given to what some call the agricultural revolution through community development? Or should community development be understood simply as a prepara-

tion for local government? If we have a multi-disciplinary approach to this local effort, who should do the co-ordinating: one of the special fields or a specialist in co-ordination? Could forms of action and education be evolved which would make it less necessary to rely on functional specialists? Could we evolve forms of action which would include health protection, education, social welfare, agricultural expansion service at the same time and in the same process? Would it be possible and useful to organise community action around the problems of children? It is really surprising how little work has been done on these questions, given the general popularity of community development and its widespread practice. We are trying to achieve completely new effects, completely new results, in developing countries, at an accelerated pace. I hope that I am not completely misquoting Bacon, who said that if you want to reach ends that have never been reached before, you have to apply means which have never yet been tried.

SUMMARY OF WORKING PAPER BY PROFESSOR EUGEN PUSIC

Planning, as the rational predetermination of socially relevant actions and action patterns, evolves with the development of the techniques of social co-ordination and with the change of interest relationships in society.

In development planning people are a resource, and they are at the same time a social obligation. The different emphases on these two aspects, together with other historical circumstances, have resulted in three main types of planning for people:

1. Economic planning for social purposes, stressing the value of people as resources and adjusting the economic indicators of the plan in order to take care of the needs of people by measures of a general character.
2. Social welfare planning, stemming from social welfare practice and trying to co-ordinate the different social services so as to achieve an optimum effect from the point of view of the needy individual.
3. Social policy planning, starting with general measures of redistribution of income and developing towards a comprehensive network of services. In developed countries the three types are converging upon each other.

Developing countries, on the other hand, have three main difficulties in relation to the possibility of planning: low density of activities and services, low organisational capacity, and a strong tendency towards the domination of some interests over others.

They have, also, three advantages in relation to countries which had to pass earlier through the corresponding stages of development: they are in a better position to foresee the problems of development and the methods to cope with them having before them examples of social evolution elsewhere; there is an increasing possibility to "import" technical knowledge from other countries; there are often remnants of a primary local solidarity and institutions which can be used as a temporary solution and as a base for new social forms.

Any attempt at planning will have to face squarely the existing and evolving interest situation in the developing country. The ruling interest-group and its values will define the framework within which planning can start. Once started, however, planning will itself shape the situation within which political decisions have to be taken.

The planning process itself can be seen in three phases:

ORIENTATION. Planning sectors are identified and data are gathered about the situation and the possibilities in each of them. The sectors particularly relevant for children and youth: food, nutrition and home economics, education, particularly literacy and vocational training, health, welfare, labour and working conditions, housing, land use, urban and regional planning, recreational and cultural institutions, public utilities and communal services, social insurance systems.

PLANNING. A coherent politico-technical process, starting with the problems of relationships, homogeneity and constance of possible activities, the choice of priorities, and resulting in the final draft of the plan. The technical ideal should be simplicity. Planning should go on centrally and locally and with the maximum possible participation of all those on whose activities ultimate success will depend. Political responsibility and technical expertise should be associated in the same planning body. Large political bodies, such as national assemblies, have the function of political control.

ACTION. Not to be disassociated in responsibility from planning. Action introducing new services and requiring scarce resources will usually have to be started centrally, but otherwise local action should be preferred. Locally it will be easier to achieve comprehensiveness, to counteract bureaucratisation, to mobilise inner reserves and human solidarity, and to experiment with small scale measures before starting a general system. Also, functional decentralisation by combining social services with other types of activity can be useful in taking care of the needs of children and youth. Non-governmental organisations should be associated in the fullest possible measure with the whole planning process and with the resulting action.

Co-ordinating machinery from the point of view of the needs of children and youth should combine in its membership people responsible for the relevant activities and members of political decision-making bodies.

Some Observations on Administrative Arrangements to Promote the Welfare of Children through National Planning

WORKING PAPER BY DEAN CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND

Introduction

"Planning" has become a current hit theme and has been the subject of numerous international conferences, institutes and seminars all over the world.

The theories, concepts, goals, practices and other aspects of the problem have been explored extensively. However, one area which has been given too little attention relates to the administrative arrangements under which planning shall take place. This is particularly true in the area of national planning for children.

In considering the administrative machinery necessary to plan for children, only the most generalised observations appear to satisfy the differing approaches to the problem. Usually stressed are the necessity of inter-ministerial arrangements,¹ among various agencies which are responsible for specific functional services such as health or schooling,² the necessity of adapting the planning mechanisms or planning structures to the "general administrative mores of the country,"³ and the necessity to integrate services for children with other services.⁴

Increasing Concern with "Structure"

There is, however, increasing concern, particularly in the rapidly developing countries, with the inadequacies of planning structures to consider the total needs of children. Many problems cannot be solved by the functional ministries acting alone.⁵ Let us take, for example, the question of child health. In a particular country, the public health department may have primary responsibility for broad programmes of prevention and treatment. But child health is tied to adequate food production which may be the responsibility of a Department of Agriculture; to the education of the parents which may be the responsibility of a Department of Education; to suitable housing which may be the responsibility of still another department. Co-ordinating the existing functional ministries may still leave gaps in planning for children. For example, the various long-range national economic plans may have significant implications for children which involve considerations which are not the function of any established ministry.⁶ In addition, the plans of the separate ministries may not encompass all of the needs of children. Indeed, the factual information and data upon which planning should proceed may not be complete if tied to the data gathering of individual ministries. Increasingly, there is a growing recognition that the administrative arrangements will influence the success or failure of comprehensive planning for children.

Steps Involved in Planning

Let us, therefore, proceed to raise questions for discussion and present some observations. Although the planning process or function may be approached or described in many ways,⁷ one approach is through certain steps involved in such planning. These include:

GATHERING INFORMATION. Much has been said about the importance of information upon which planning must rest. Basic to any planning are data and fact finding. Birth rates, child and maternal health rates, family size, family mobility, incidence of juvenile delinquency, school attendance—these are only a small sample of the myriad of facts necessary for national planning. Lack of data is a serious stumbling block in adequate planning.⁸ Who should collect

such information? Should the individual ministries be responsible for their own functional areas? What should be the role of the central planning agency in this regard? Who should co-ordinate the information into an over-all national assessment? Who should be responsible for seeing that there are no large gaps in collecting data?

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLE. A designated and special sector of the administrative structure should be made responsible for gathering information about the country's children through the functional ministries, through its own resources, through specially created organs, or a combination of these methods.

DISSEMINATING INFORMATION. In developing countries, the dissemination of information frequently has been difficult because of inadequate development of the means of communication. How should the facts which have been collected be disseminated to ministries, officials, voluntary organisations and the general public? What devices, indigenous to the country, can be utilised? Can a periodic conference such as the decennial White House Conference on Children in the United States serve such a purpose partially in selected countries? Who should determine what kinds of information should be made available? And to whom? Where should responsibility for this function be placed?

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLE. A designated agency should be responsible for (a) ascertaining that individual agencies disseminate information relating to their specific functions, and (b) disseminating such information as may not be pertinent to the work of individual agencies.

ESTABLISHING GOALS. The goals and objectives for the children of a nation should be clearly stated and defined. Whose responsibility should this be? The national legislature? The central planning body? Specific ministries?

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLE. The responsibility of establishing, amending and revising the fundamental goals and objectives should be clearly designated and such goals should be promulgated so as to serve as a guideline for those agencies responsible for implementation.

SETTING PRIORITIES. Developing countries cannot do everything at once. Priorities must be established in the light of available resources. How much of the nation's resources should be devoted to children as against other age groups? Among children's services, how much should go for health? For schooling? For housing? For welfare services? Who should set these priorities in planning for children? A central planning body? A co-ordinating inter-departmental or inter-ministerial committee? The national legislature? The chief executive?

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLE. The setting of priorities must be related closely to other economic and social priorities, for example, food production, vocational training, road building, etc. Therefore, the same mechanism or machinery which establishes basic priorities for the country as a whole should be given responsibility for setting the priorities in the national planning for children.

However, it is desirable that the major agencies operating programmes for children participate in the setting of priorities so that the views of such agencies are considered.

PUTTING THE PLANS INTO EFFECT. What kind or kinds of administrative structures should be utilized in effectuating the agreed upon plans? Should a children's agency be charged with major responsibility? Or should each function include services for children, for example, the health department handle child health, the schools handle child education, etc. Should some central agency have over-all responsibility for supervising or reporting upon the work of individual agencies?

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLE. The major functions of government as administered by departments or ministries should be charged with that portion of the plans for children related to its purpose. For example, the health ministry should handle child health problems. However, some central organisation should be given responsibility for co-ordinating or supervising or reporting upon the execution of children's programmes.⁹

Miscellaneous

The questions above are indicative and certainly not complete. Not considered are such broad subjects as evaluation of existing programmes, research and demonstration, financing and a host of other problems which affect administrative structure. However, it is believed that, if consensus can be achieved on the principles to guide countries in the administrative arrangements or structures involved in the five steps set forth above, the administrative mechanisms for other aspects of the planning process can be more readily considered.

Outline for Country Assessment of the Situation of Children and Youth

WORKING PAPER BY DR. GEORGES SICAULT

INTRODUCTION

The question has been asked how a government can establish programmes to benefit and develop children and adolescents within the framework of economic and social development. Certain basic principles may be recalled:

1. Economic development is not an end in itself but a means of improving the conditions of life of the people.
2. Economic development is not possible if the country lacks conditions for economic development.
3. The protection of the child and his preparation for life is a necessary condition for the development of human resources and consequently a necessary condition for economic and social development.

In practice, the various countries of the world face two distinct types of situation:

(a) Either the country has already established an economic and social development plan (but often without taking explicit account of the needs of children and youth), or

(b) The country has so far not made a development plan but would have sufficient data with which to set up a national policy and programmes for children.

The problem for the government in either case (and in the numerous intermediary situations which will be found in the field) is to establish its priorities for the protection of the child and his preparation for life. To do that it needs first of all, using the services of the interested technical departments, to make an assessment of the situation as it is, from which it will draw some general conclusions. The assessment is of the needs of children and youth, but especially of unmet needs. These are seen in relation to gaps in what their families or voluntary or government services are able to provide. It is useful wherever possible to state the causes of insufficiencies, and also whether the situation seems to be getting better or worse. What is the current trend? This assessment could be made on the basis of the following general indications.

I. POPULATION DATA

Distribution throughout the country, urban population, rural population. Growth of the population projected for next fifteen years (to 1980), total number and annual percentage rate. The age pyramid, number of infants, children 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20. The growth of large towns over the past five to ten years, and projected for fifteen years (1980).

II. HEALTH

What are the most important problems concerning the protection of health for the population as a whole, and more specifically for the protection of children—communicable diseases (which?), obstetrical mortality, infant mortality, mortality at ages one to five years, gastro-intestinal diseases, household water supply, lack of environmental sanitation? Are these situations improving?

What are the problems in the field of health education and nutrition education?

What is the medical coverage of the country (number of inhabitants per medical and paramedical personnel in urban and rural areas)?

What schools exist for training such personnel (faculties, professional schools)? What is their annual output in relation to any plans to extend medical coverage?

What programmes or special efforts for the extension of services are at present under way? Are they directed to the needs revealed by answers to the above?

In particular, how far along are the plans and achievements concerning the organisation and extension of basic health services, including maternal and child health services?

Going on to make a systematic analysis based on the development of the life of the child (birth, first six months, weaning, pre-school age, school age, post-school age), the following questions would be asked:

What are the priorities to consider and what are the practical possibilities offered for the extension of priority programmes?

What are the main reasons for present deficiencies?

What are the sources of financing health services (public and private)?

What percentages in the annual national budget and in the national development plan are devoted to these services? Is there information about additional state or local budgets? What programmes claim comparatively large amounts of the budget?

III. NUTRITION

What are the problems in the following sectors:

MEDICAL. What are the nutritional deficiencies found at the different ages of the child's development? What problems are found most frequently; what is their relative importance? What are their main causes? Are conditions getting better or worse? What measures are taken by the health services to improve the situation? What measures could be envisaged?

AGRICULTURE. What orientation is given to agricultural production in the light of nutritional problems in the country? Can this situation be improved? What specific measures can be taken for children—problem of milk and protein-rich foods?

INDUSTRIAL. What additional nutritional needs are being created by industrialisation? Are there plans for industrialisation concerned with the treatment of milk, and the production of foods rich in proteins and vitamins?

EDUCATION. What types of nutrition education are going on (for young mothers, for children, for families) through health, educational, agricultural extension or community development personnel?

What means of co-ordination among ministries have been considered by the government or could be considered for working out a nutritional policy?

IV. EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

PRE-SCHOOL. Are there pre-primary education, day-care centres, crèches? Are these priority needs?

PRIMARY EDUCATION. What at the present time is the proportion of boys and girls in school? What is the typical number of years of school attendance? What proportion of boys and girls at age of entry actually enter school? What proportion finish primary school? What percentage is planned for 10, 15, 20

years from now? Are there programmes for children who have not had schooling (no primary education or drop-outs)? Post-primary education.

SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. What is the percentage of children completing primary school admitted to secondary and vocational education? What is the breakdown among academic, commercial, agricultural and technical/industrial streams? How is this breakdown and the total percentage evolving in relation to the needs foreseen, vocational guidance and means of influencing vocational choice? Needs met by part-time or evening vocational training. Are technical and agricultural training given by labour and agricultural ministries? What are the relations between manpower planning and educational planning, including the training given by ministries other than education?

FINANCING. What are the public and private sources of financing educational and vocational training facilities? What percentages in the annual national budget and in the national development plan are devoted to these facilities? Is there information about additional state or local expenditures? What are the shares of important programmes (e.g., primary, secondary and vocational education) in the budget?

V. SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

PROBLEMS IN THE SOCIAL WELFARE FIELD. Describe the major problems in the social welfare field in the rural as well as in the urban and peri-urban areas which directly affect the welfare of families, children and youth and for which no sufficient services are at present available (breaking-up of family life, leading to lack of care and protection of children, non-adaptation to urban life, slum conditions, non-registration of births, pre-delinquency, absence of constructive leisure time or creative group activities).

What is the relative importance of these problems as compared with those examined in other sectors?

CHILD AND YOUTH WELFARE PROGRAMMES. What types of programme exist in the social services field directly benefiting children and youth in their families (aspects of community development, family life education, family allowances, public assistance) or through special services (institutions, foster care, day-care centres, youth activity and community centres)? Describe any specific social welfare services which aim at preserving family life on behalf of children and youth. What is the coverage of these programmes in rural and urban areas?

What are the government's views about priorities among these programmes? Do they correspond to the importance of the problems as described above?

What are the sources of financing of social services (public and private)? What percentage in the annual national budget is devoted to these services? What is the percentage in the present national development plan? Is there information about additional state or local expenditures? What programme in the field of social welfare services claims the largest share of the budget?

VI. OVER-ALL ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

After a systematic examination of these different sectors, a certain number of main lines will appear which may be included in a national policy for children for adoption by the government.

The questions to be answered are of the following type:

Among all the problems in the country concerning the protection of the child and his preparation for life, which deserve the greatest attention? Infantile mortality, or mortality from malaria? Lack of professional personnel or ignorance of the people? The breakdown of traditional social organisations, or the growth of towns and the consequences for the child, or the stagnation of rural life?

When a priority listing of the different needs of the child and the adolescent has been made, the question will then be: how can the problems be attacked with the limited resources available in the country? What are the strategic points where, with a minimum of means, the largest results can be expected?

Has there been any experience of assessing the needs of children and youth and possibilities for action in connexion with the preparation of the national development plan?

In countries having a development plan, the different chapters of the plan can be analysed sector by sector. A great deal can be accomplished by using earlier studies and facts already assembled which have been used by the government in establishing its development plan. But it is not necessary to have reached this very advanced stage of planning to be able to make a priority listing of the needs of children.

USEFULNESS OF ASSESSING NEEDS

It is quite clear that a study of this type need not be made each year when new programmes are proposed, but it is useful every two or three years to bring up-to-date this panoramic view of problems, so as to take account of changes which are often rapid in the developing countries. In countries where there is a development plan, the frequency of this assessment should conform to the preparation of the new plan and to any revisions.

By making such an assessment the country will avoid, while waiting for precise and methodical planning, beginning secondary projects that are directed only to the symptoms of the ills affecting childhood. On the contrary, it will be possible to attack the causes of these ills.

In other words, before acting, it is good to know the situation, at least in its broad lines. It is only then that the strategic points of action can be determined with some hope of success.

Before the very numerous possibilities which are open to help children in the fields of health, nutrition, education and vocational training, social services and preparation for life, it is necessary to make choices. These choices should be made in the light of the needs and the opportunities for action which are open in the country.

Some Notes on Costs of Services in Sectors Benefiting Children in Developing Countries

WORKING PAPER BY UNICEF SECRETARIAT

Recurring Costs

Capital costs are more likely to receive international assistance than recurring costs. Let us then examine first the burden of recurring costs.

Government expenditure as a percentage of Gross National Product (G.N.P.) may range from 10-30 per cent.¹ We may take as a bench mark the standard of 20 per cent suggested by Arthur Lewis.² Part of this needs to be invested in capital costs. For this Lewis takes 8 per cent, leaving for government recurrent consumption expenditures 12 per cent of G.N.P.

Lewis gives the following suggested typical breakdown of the 12 per cent:

General Administration	3%
"Economic" items (roads, water, agriculture, housing, industry)	4%
Education	3%
Health	2%
	<hr/>
	12%

The object of the present note is not to suggest conclusions about the proportion of G.N.P. or of the government budget that should go to particular services, but to pose the fiscal problem of improving services and bringing them up to standards recommended internationally.

Because the ratio of the salary of an educated person to the average national income (or G.N.P. per inhabitant) is much higher in poor than in rich countries, it takes two or three times as great a percentage of national income to produce the same standard of service in poor as in rich countries. (Lewis)

It is useful to begin by considering education, since this is the service concerning children most exclusively.

Governments of developing countries are spending 14-4 per cent³ of the G.N.P. on education (primary, secondary, higher). The cost of the goals agreed on for Africa (1970) at the UNESCO regional meetings at Addis Ababa would be 8.6 per cent of the national income of the continent for primary schooling for 70 per cent of the children of school age, 15 per cent at secondary and 0.4 per cent at the higher level. The conference assumed, however, that the countries could contribute only 4 per cent of their national income, and that the remaining 4.6 per cent would have to come from international aid at \$1,000,000,000 annually.⁴

Consider now the school lunch as a logical cross-sectoral complement to educational expenditure. Two hundred days @ 4¢ = US \$8.00. This represents

a doubling of the cost of primary education per pupil in India, Pakistan or Thailand, a 50 per cent increase in Ghana, Kenya, or Iran, a 25 per cent increase in Morocco, Tunisia, or Colombia.⁵ Primary education usually represents about half the total cost of education to the government; so a 25 per cent increase in primary education = $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent increase in the total education budget or about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of G.N.P., if the country is also making a maximum effort in this field at 4 per cent. Hence it is hard to recommend financing of school lunches on a conventional basis on a national scale. Countries appear to need continued support from outside in the form of food supplies and the support of the local community.

HEALTH. This service takes 0.5-3 per cent of G.N.P.⁶ One per cent is more typical than Lewis' 2 per cent. Let us consider the recurring costs of a rural health centre and sub-centres, of the type being used in development blocks in the Indian sub-continent. A somewhat similar centre is used in some African countries. It has one doctor and say five professional staff to serve, say, 50,000 people (compared with 1 doctor/1000 people in industrialised countries). This level of service costs 2 rupees per inhabitant of the block. As this elementary level of service is extended over the country, another 1 per cent of the G.N.P. would have to be spent on it, unless we wait for the G.N.P. to double.

The recurring costs of potable water supply can probably be charged to the consumers who pay for house connexions, though the capital cost can only be recovered in towns of over a certain size—of the order of 25,000 inhabitants.

NUTRITION. With education and health taking 6 per cent out of the 20 per cent of G.N.P. controlled by the government, is it possible to think of government-financed supplementary feeding schemes for pre-school or school children? Cost considerations would suggest rather that the nutrition problem has to be tackled nationally by planning of food production, and education of the public; and that food distribution on a large scale will have to continue to depend, as at present, on supplies from abroad.

HOUSING AND URBANISATION. The problem is rather of capital than recurring costs, which will be borne by the consumer or the municipality. In developing countries, housing accounts for 12-30 per cent of gross domestic fixed investment, representing an investment of 2-4 per cent of G.N.P.

SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES. Data linking recurrent costs to G.N.P. is available for only a few developing countries. It can include social insurance, family allowances, provision by public employers and public assistance. With the exception of provision by public employers, most of these items are found only in countries that already have a good deal of industry. Such services can take from 1-10 per cent of G.N.P., but these figures are hardly relevant to the countries we are considering.⁷

GROWTH OF G.N.P. The G.N.P. is usually planned to increase at about 5 per cent annually. Therefore, services may increase at the same rate without imposing an additional cost burden.

Capital Costs.

There are two interesting questions:

1. Is it possible by social investments in children and youth to raise the level of national income in future years for, *inter alia*, the better support of other social services?

2. Would such investments have to compete for resources by giving the average return of 25 per cent often taken as normal for capital in developing countries?⁹

Frequently, developing countries are supposed to have a ratio of input of capital to output of annual income of 4:1. This may also be expressed as a planning rate of return on capital of 25 per cent. Does this mean that expenditure on children and youth should yield a 25 per cent return in higher personal income and other ways, in order to be accepted as an investment?

This would be a misinterpretation of the input/output analysis. The high return on capital comes from imputing the whole increase in G.N.P. to the increase in material capital. However, the increase in G.N.P. is known to depend in part on the spread of better techniques, and hence on improvement of human resources. Without a concurrent improvement in human resources, the return on material capital would be much lower, perhaps half the 25 per cent. Hence an investment in education or training or health that yields 10-15 per cent may be considered competitive with investment in material capital. In practice, it is hard to calculate the return to investment in children and youth because it appears in a number of different places.

The "misinterpretation" can also be put in a different way, perhaps more illuminating. Part of the benefit from human investment, including investment in children, would appear not as a return on the capital invested in this human sector, but rather in lowering the capital/output ratio in other sectors below what it otherwise would be (indirect benefits). Thus, a comparison of capital investment in "productive sectors" versus social sectors must be based either on a corrected capital/output ratio (as described above) or else on a proper definition of benefits from social expenditures. The end result should be the same, but operationally speaking the second method is perhaps more practicable.

Resources spent on educating or training children or youth in the last few years before they enter employment may be expected to yield a high return, if the training is well related to the needs of employment.

Some other social investments make large use of no-cost inputs, for example, people who would otherwise be idle, and mothers who are prevented by ignorance from improving the rearing of their children. In such cases, the only cost is that of the service that reaches and educates them, and the return to this cost may therefore be high.

OTHER SCARCE FACTORS. The return to capital is, of course, only one of the various investment criteria. Capital is not the only scarce factor. Specifically, foreign exchange nearly always is a specific bottle-neck. In that case investment criteria as between social investment and economic investment

urban factory, where the central motivation was maximum output with minimum cost.

4. The major social welfare goal set forth in the Covenant of the League of Nations and invoked as the constitutional basis of the League's child welfare programme was suppression of traffic in women and children.

5. A recent report of the Council on Poverty of New York City sets the poverty line there at \$1,000 *per capita* (in a family of four), which is substantially higher than the *per capita* national income of all but a handful of countries in the world. However, this example also illustrates the dangers of comparing incomes in different countries without taking account of living costs and degree of monetarisation of the economy.

6. It does not make sense, for example, to define an increase from 20 per cent literacy to 30 per cent literacy as a 50 per cent improvement, while an advance from 70 per cent literacy to 80 per cent is reckoned as only a 14 per cent improvement. Apart from certain logical considerations which make it unwise to use percentages of percentages as measures of growth (the battle against illiteracy would be moving at quite different speed from the progress of literacy), there is the elementary consideration that, from a social point of view, the achievement of a desired condition by one person is no more important than the achievement of it by another person. Hence, if 10 per cent of the population moves from illiteracy to literacy in a given time, this is the same amount of progress whether the population was originally 20 per cent literate or 70 per cent literate.

7. The inadequacy of the monetary yardstick in the measurement of levels of living was discussed in some detail in the *Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living* (United Nations publication Sales No.: 1954.IV.5).

8. Bentham helpfully supplied a mnemonic aid for his calculus in the form of a poem:

*"Intense, long certain, speedy, fruitful, pure—
Such marks in pleasures and in pains endure.
Such pleasures seek if private be thy end:
If it be public, wide let them extend.
Such pains avoid, whichever be thy view:
If pains must come, let them extend to few."*

9. The same principle of derived needs operates within the social sectors—targets for improved health imply targets for hospital beds which imply targets for doctors, X-ray machines, technicians, etc.

10. These figures are derived from data in the 1961 *Report on the World Social Situation* (United Nations publication Sales No.: 61.IV.4).

Some Observations on Administrative Arrangements to Promote the Welfare of Children through National Planning

1. *Children of the Developing Countries*. A Report by UNICEF, New York, The World Publishing Co., 1963, pages 13 to 17; memorandum from Maurice Pate, Executive Director, UNICEF, Ref. RTC/P/1, January 8, 1964, transmitting

A List of Questions Suggested for Discussion, Note prepared by the Secretariat of UNICEF (CC/WP-3), page 19.

2. See *Report of the Conference on the Social Aspects of Development Planning in the Arab States* (ST/TAO/SER.C/55, ST/SOA/SER.T/2), Beirut, Lebanon, 6 to 12 November 1961, page 5.

3. *The Needs of Children in Relation to Planning Structures and Processes*, Report presented by Dr. Eugen Pusic, Professor of Public Administration, University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia (CC/WP-2, 3 February 1964, UNICEF) page 19.

4. *The United Nations Development Decade*, United Nations, New York, 1962, page 27.

5. *Children of the Developing Countries*, op. cit., page 14.

6. For example: Many countries have no central agency interested in strengthening family life.

7. See Dr. Eugen Pusic's excellent discussion, op. cit.

8. See *A List of Questions Suggested for Discussion*, op. cit., para. 40.

9. Among the structures suggested have been:

(a) A special agency of government such as a bureau for children.

(b) The central planning body for the nation.

(c) A co-ordinating committee of departmental or ministerial representatives.

(d) A designated officer highly placed in the administrative structure of government.

Some Notes on Costs of Services in Sectors Benefiting Children in Developing Countries

1. *1961 Report on the World Social Situation*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York: United Nations, 1961. Page 71.

2. *Restless Nations: A Study of World Tensions and Development*, ed. by Council on World Tensions. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1962. Page 83.

3. *1961 Report on the World Social Situation*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York: United Nations, 1961. Earnings foregone may be more than the school costs for secondary and university education (Theodore W. Schultz, *The Economic Value of Education*, page 29). It is, however, correct not to include these in the above percentage because they do not form part of the G.N.P. spent by the government.

4. *Final Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa*, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. UNESCO Document No. UNESCO/ED/181. 1961.

5. On the basis of statistics from UNESCO *World Survey of Education*, Document No. ED.60/IX.3/A, International Documents Service, a Division of Columbia University Press. (Printed in Switzerland by arrangements with UNESCO Paris). New York, 1961.

6. *1961 Report on the World Social Situation*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York: United Nations, 1961.

7. *The United Nations Development Decade—Proposals for Action*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of the Secretary-General. New York: United Nations, 1962. Page 59.
8. *The Economics of Welfare Policies*, by Margaret S. Gordon. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963. Pages 18-19.
9. *Théorie générale de la population*, Vol. I, by Alfred Sauvy. Third edition. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963. Page 275.

